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THE CULTIVATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES: A LIFE CYCLE MODEL

by

Barbara Anne Derksen

Bachelor of Arts Degree in Psychology, Brock University, 1990

THESIS
Submitted to the Department of Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Masters of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1993

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Summary of Research

This study focused on the lifecycle of four neighbourhood organizations located in Cambridge, Ontario. The key question in the study was: "How do the various stakeholders in neighbourhood organizations experience the life cycle of these organizations"? Participants and staff described their experiences and their relationships with each other, staff, the sponsoring agency, the neighbourhood and the social service agencies that interact with neighbourhood organizations. Their responses helped to build a model of community development grounded in their own experiences that will be helpful in education, planning and evaluation.

To answer both the key research question and related questions, an advisory committee was formed. Membership included a representative from each of the neighbourhood organizations, a community worker and the program manager. The advisory committee developed the questions, suggested people to be interviewed, confirmed the results and planned for the sharing of the findings. Thirteen people were interviewed including staff and participants both current and past using an interview guide. Focus groups were held with participants from each of the neighbourhood organizations (a total of fifteen participants) and one with six service providers from Cambridge.

Although it is somewhat artificial and difficult to distinguish between stages in a lifecycle, it is helpful as a framework for understanding the life of neighbourhood organizations. One framework, provided by Jones and Silva (1991), describes the tasks, processes and system interactions that are a part of community organizations. I have used this framework to present the findings of this study. Using this framework there are three types of themes (tasks, processes and relationships) that flow through the four stages

(initiating, building, stabilizing and consulting) of neighbourhood organizations. The task themes from this study include the tools and resources that are needed to get the centre started and the structures and activities that the centre uses to respond to community needs. The process themes from this study that flow across the lifecycle include how volunteers come together, work together, the stresses they experience and the shift in their role to managers and employers. The relationship issues across the lifecycle found in this study describe the tensions between the lower- and middle-income group members, aspects of power and control in their relationship with the sponsoring agency and the shift from wariness to acceptance in the organizations' relationship with the surrounding community. The critical issues across the lifecycle capture the overarching tasks of neighbourhood organizations at each stage in their lifecycle. They start with "developing trust," move to "developing credibility" continue to "developing a reputation" and conclude with "maintaining vitality."

Both citizen participation and neighbouring are pervasive themes in this study. This study describes the progression of citizen participation and the ways in which staff can support and nurture this progression. It also highlights some of the barriers, benefits and stresses that participants experience in their involvement in neighbourhood organizations. Neighbourhood centres can also play a critical role in fostering and nurturing neighbouring. They can provide a place for people to meet, with opportunities for social interaction, as well as a forum and structure within which people can voice their concerns and take collective action. Furthermore, neighbourhood organizations can also provide resources such as staff and community contacts that can further help residents to take strategic action.

Other main themes from this study are the critical role of ideology, a continuing sensitivity to the dangers of "professionalization", and the ways in which prevention work has changed over the course of the lifecycle of neighbourhood organizations.

In many ways neighbourhood organizations have come into their own; they are seen as an important part of the community. Increasingly they are consulted by other agencies in their development of strategic plans and they are also seen as a conduit for professionals seeking access to the community. Neighbourhood organizations have also become more politically astute over time and more recently have been lobbying alongside other groups when there have been concerns with funding cuts to services that are important to neighbourhood organizations.

While there is a growing understanding and expertise in doing prevention work in neighbourhoods, there is still much to be learned and communicated in a way that is helpful to neighbourhood organizations.

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Introduction and Literature Review

Community psychology brings a unique perspective to the efforts of improving the quality of life of individuals. This perspective includes an orientation toward prevention instead of treatment, a holistic, asset - oriented view of the individual versus a deficit-oriented view, an appreciation of the context in which individuals live and a belief in the inherent capacity of people to address their own needs. These threads of a community psychology perspective are woven into the fabric of neighbourhood organizations that form the focus of this paper. Hence, I will briefly expand on each of these strands as a way of providing a backdrop for later discussion of neighbourhood organizations and their life cycles. The prevention perspective with a holistic orientation is typified in Albee's (1983) formula for well-being in which he equates psychological well-being with the high levels of coping skills, self-esteem, and social support, concomitant with the low levels of organic factors and stress. An appreciation of the context in which people live is highlighted in Trickett's (1984) ecological perspective in which he reminds practitioners to consider the history, cycling of resources and succession of any setting. The belief in individuals' ability to address their needs is typified in the self-help model (Riessman, 1990) which submits that each person is not only a user of service but also a provider of service and enjoys the benefits that accrue to the helper, such as increased self-esteem. Furthermore, this model suggests that it is unnecessary to have professional status and designation to render help. The professionalization of service is one of the themes in

McKnight's (1987) discussion of the importance of community. He sees community as a place in which citizens, with capacities, rather than consumers with fallabilities, come together to create unique solutions to the issues facing their community. This is done in a collective, consensual manner that appreciates the interdependence of the issue within the context of the community and replaces the provision of service with the care of a community. Heller (1992) joins McKnight in stressing the importance of a community approach to addressing the issues facing the community and warns against the community's reliance on professionals who have a tendency to define social problems and their solutions in a way that promotes professional self-interest and extends professional skills.

Both the interest in empowering individuals and the concern with the professionalization of service have often led to the creation of alternative settings. By definition, these settings challenge the status quo and endeavour to address social issues in a consensual manner at a grassroots level. Hence, neighbourhood organizations are but one example of alternative settings which seek not only another way in which to help people but also to improve the quality of the life for individuals within their respective constituencies.

This thesis focuses on the developmental nature of neighbourhood organizations, located in Cambridge that have primary prevention as their focus. They are developed in low-income neighbourhoods and seek to mobilize community members to address the various issues facing the neighbourhood. In this paper, I begin by discussing the rationale and some of the opportunities and challenges involved in neighbourhood level interventions. Next, I discuss three approaches to the study of life cycles within alternative organizations from organizational development in

business, community psychology, and community development. I discuss the common themes and the dissimilarities uncovered in these three areas. Then I conclude with the discussion of an integrated model of the life cycle of neighbourhood groups which forms a conceptual framework to guide the inquiry into the experiences of neighbourhood organizations in various stages of development. The planned research endeavours to elucidate a grounded model of community development that can be used for planning, resource allocation, evaluation and education.

Neighbourhood Interventions

A definition. Neighbourhoods are not only places of residence within a particular geographic locale but also communities comprised of the networks of social support that exist between people. Social interventions interfere with or alter ongoing social relationships. An integral part of intervention is the questioning of the values that underlie both the means and the ends of the intervention (Bennett, 1987). Hence interventions are viewed as planned and deliberate attempts to take action to improve the quality of life of the residents in a particular setting. The development of the neighbourhood organizations described in this study are examples of interventions to improve the life quality of residents in a particular geographic locale.

Neighbours can be natural helpers in close proximity, who can provide linkages to the surrounding community and can help to decrease feelings of isolation (Heller, 1984; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). It is the social aspects of neighbourhoods that Unger and Wandersman (1985) consider in their delineation of the social, cognitive and affective components of neighbouring. They argue that although individuals maintain friendships

and social ties beyond the geographic locale of the neighbourhood, neighbours nevertheless, still perform an important function by virtue of their proximity. For instance neighbours are more readily available in an emergency, to provide childcare, or to lend tools. Glynn (1986) supports this assertion by stating that the neighbourhood continues to make a significant contribution to the development and maintenance of a sense of community and to community satisfaction and competence. Unger and Wandersman (1985) also present evidence suggesting that neighbourhoods with high levels of social interaction have a greater potential to be organized into block organizations than neighbourhoods with lower levels of social interaction. Furthermore, this level of social interaction also enhances the likelihood that residents will participate in the organization.

"At-risk". Clearly neighbourhoods can be a rich source of support and activity (Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Furthermore, they can be clearly delineated based on geographic and demographic data which is helpful when identifying "at risk" neighbourhoods in which to launch prevention initiatives. "At risk" neighbourhoods are characterized by the presence of many risk indicators such as social assistance, low-income, single-parent families and subsidized housing (Offord, Boyle & Racine, 1989). Unfortunately, often residents of these neighbourhoods experience the stigma of living in low-income neighbourhoods and tend to consider the setting hostile and one in which they have to compete for scarce social resources. Hence, the personal problems of families are compounded rather than ameliorated by the neighbourhood (Trotter, 1981). It is noteworthy that the practice of identifying "at risk" communities is a professional activity. Hence one must be cautious in labeling particular

neighbourhoods as "at risk" because this term tends to obscure the strengths and capacities operating within the neighbourhood. The professional assessment of a neighbourhood may also have the untoward effect of inhibiting the natural tendencies and capacities operating in the neighbourhood by suggesting that residents really "need help". A more balanced assessment of the neighbourhood would include residents' perspectives of the strengths and needs in their neighbourhood.

Advantages of neighbourhood interventions. Despite this caveat regarding "at risk" communities, there are many advantages to focusing on neighbourhoods as sites for intervention. Neighbourhoods act as a mediating structure between individuals and the broader society of which they are a part. They are the principle expressions of the real values and needs of people (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977). As such, neighbourhood groups or centres can play a vital role in building linkages between individuals and families and broader structures, such as schools. It is through their collective power that neighbourhood groups can begin to exert an influence on larger structures which would not have been possible for them to do as individuals. This may be the first time that such structures have been responsive to the interests of low-income families. Hence, one of the strengths of neighbourhoods is their ability to generate small-scale solutions to problems that are locally defined and collectively implemented (Trotter, 1981).

Interventions at the neighbourhood level can also be powerful ways of linking the formal with the informal. In fact, there is increasing appreciation of and advocacy for the use of mutual help models; models in which people help each other, thereby dispelling the distinction between

powerful helper and powerless recipient. Clearly, within some neighbourhoods there already exists a rich network of informal support which can be enhanced and augmented with formal supports. Neighbourhood level interventions which capitalize on linking the formal and the informal not only decrease the pressures of the formal but enhance and empower the already existing informal ways in which neighbours meet their individual and collective needs. Warren and Warren (1977) point out that, depending on the social organization in the neighbourhood, a strong linkage between the neighbourhood and sources of assistance that extend beyond it already naturally occurs.

While there potentially exists a rich web of social supports within a given neighbourhood, this should not be misconstrued to mean that this social support is deliberate or self-conscious - for neighbours continue to be neighbours and not primarily or necessarily friends, confidants, or surrogate therapists (Trotter, 1981). Nevertheless, where a social network exists within neighbourhoods it can support and supplement the activities of the neighbourhood organization by disseminating information about the organization and assisting in the efforts of the organization (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). Also, the activities of the organization can serve to enhance the social support existing in the neighbourhood by bringing people together and decreasing their sense of isolation and powerlessness.

Furthermore, neighbourhood interventions can be very empowering for the neighbourhood members who become involved. Vanderslice, Cherry, Cochran and Dean (1984) view empowerment as a process through which individual's gain skills and knowledge about themselves and their environment. This in turn increases their confidence and enables them to exert control over their social environment to effect desired changes. This

process is based on the assumption that all people have strengths and competencies, as well as legitimate and valuable information about their needs, values and goals. Hence, the focus is not on the shortcomings of the individual neighbours but rather on the social structure and lack of resources which make it impossible for existing competencies to operate (Rappaport, 1981). Trotter (1981) argues that participation in neighbourhood organizations can not only address the issue at hand but it can help to create new leaders and activate residents. While Chavis and Wandersman (1990) submit that a minimal amount of personal power is required to prompt participation in a neighbourhood organization, a sense of both group and individual power can develop. Nevertheless, it appears that participation is enhanced if members have the resources and a greater vested interest in the community. While participation has the potential to be an empowering experience for citizens, it is important to note that participation without any real influence is likely to lead to a decreased sense of control instead of an increased one (Rohe, 1985). Similarly, Chavis and Wandersman (1990) warn that their results of neighbourhood block organizations are based on members' perceived sense of empowerment instead of their actual successes. In summary, neighbourhoods can be a good site for intervention, because they can take advantage of existing systems of support and have the potential to be empowering for participants. Furthermore, they can provide linkages not only between the formal and the informal but also between the neighbourhood and the broader social structures which surround it.

Critical factors in intervention: Sense of community/citizen participation.

There are several important features to consider in planning neighbourhood interventions. The most crucial of these is the sense of community experienced by residents and citizen participation. Sense of community is seen as pivotal in residents becoming involved in neighbourhood interventions and in assisting them in experiencing the benefits of an increased sense of belonging, support, and power. The concept, sense of community, endeavours to capture not only the geographic neighbourhood but also the relational aspects that comprise the emotional climate and socio-emotional importance of the neighbourhood. Despite the importance of this concept, it has been difficult to elucidate the constituent parts of a sense of community and to empirically test it. Both issues are crucial if practitioners are going to effectively intervene in neighbourhoods. McMillan and Chavis (1986) have outlined a framework for the definition of the sense of community. Their definition is comprised of the following attributes: membership, influence, sharing of values and shared sense of emotional connection. "Membership is defined as the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness." (p. 9). Membership suggests boundaries which demarcate who is in and who is out of the group. These boundaries serve to provide emotional safety so needs and feelings can be expressed and feelings of intimacy can develop. Membership promotes a sense of belonging and identification, and both the members' personal investment and a common symbol system serve to re-inforce who is in and who is out of the group. Influence is seen as a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group, and the group mattering to its members. Hence, this is a

bidirectional influence in which individual members can influence the group, but the group also influences its members. The third element is the integration and fulfillment of needs where the needs and interests of each member are blended and met. Shared values are crucial in the integration and fulfillment of needs. This is captured in the feeling that members' needs will be met by the skills and strengths that other members bring to the group. Consequently, a strong community would be one which is able to fit people together, so that people meet others' needs while they meet their own. The fourth element is the shared emotional connection, the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share a history, common places, times together, and similar experiences. In summary then, the sense of community captures members feelings of belonging, mattering to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986.) Similarly O'Brien and Ayidiya (1991) reported that the sense of community that residents experience contributes substantially to the satisfaction they experience with the overall quality of their lives.

Chavis, Hogge, McMillan, and Wandersman (1986) found that the items representing the shared emotional connection were particularly important to the perceived sense of community that respondents felt. These researchers also noted that it is crucial there be appropriate participatory structures, opportunities and places within the community to foster a greater sense of community. Certainly, neighbourhood organizations endeavour to be a structure which encourages and enhances neighbourhood participation. Clearly the sense of community is not confined to the place in which one lives; rather there can be multiple

layers of a sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). In fact, it may help to remember that residential proximity in a neighbourhood is no guarantee that a sense of community will exist. Another consideration that is sometimes lost when trying to elucidate the sense of community is that it is a very dynamic concept which is constantly affected by changing values and external forces (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Therefore, while a sense of community is essential to neighbourhood interventions, its character will change as external forces impinge upon the neighbourhood. In fact, the intervention itself will undoubtedly affect the sense of community.

One of the primary reasons for an interest in the sense of community is that it can be a catalyst for action. For instance, Bachrach and Zautra (1985) reported that the strong sense of community that residents experienced resulted in people wanting to act to alleviate a community stressor, a proposed toxic waste dump in the community. This finding is extended by McMillan and Chavis (1986) who reported that the stronger the sense of community, the more influence that members think they will have in their immediate environment. Hence, the relationship between the sense of community and feelings of power and influence may be reciprocal insofar as individuals who have a strong sense of community may feel they can be influential. Neighbours who come together to address an issue of mutual concern may begin to feel empowered which would in turn foster a greater sense of community amongst them (Chavis et al., 1986; Albrandt, 1984).

Citizen participation is another critical aspect of interventions at the neighbourhood level. Heller (1984) defines citizen participation as the process whereby individuals take part in decision-making in the

institutions, programs, and environments that affect them. Reinharz (1984) reminds us of the long history of women in neighbourhood activism, particularly working-class women who reacted to the concrete problems that directly affected their day-to-day existence. Hence, citizen participation is seen as a valuable tool in improving the quality of the physical environment, enhancing services, preventing crime, and improving social conditions (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). There are many factors which appear to influence residents' likelihood of becoming involved in neighbourhood improvement projects. For instance, Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, and Chavis (1990) suggest there are many contextual factors that influence whether residents become involved in neighbourhood activities. These contextual features are neighbouring, the presence of perceived incivilities (litter, or the presence of neighbours who do not maintain their property), block satisfaction, and the perceived efficacy of the block organization. Hence, this list suggests a mixture of social and environmental factors. The work of Wandersman and Giamartino (1980) support this conclusion. They found that the residents' perception of a concrete problem and an environment conducive to working on the problem create a necessary but insufficient context for a successful organization. Within this conducive atmosphere participants, to a greater extent than non-participants, knew their neighbours better and felt that their actions would be related to the outcomes they sought. Hence, block satisfaction and perceived efficacy are as much a function of the organization as they are a function of its members, so that if individuals do not feel efficacious it may be difficult for the organization to be efficacious which would diminish its effectiveness in the neighbourhood.

Barriers to neighbourhood interventions. Despite the power and potential of a sense of community and citizen participation, there are many barriers that limit the effectiveness of neighbourhood interventions. Several of these barriers have to do with the participants and the way in which the physical environment affects their ability to make neighbourhood interventions a success. Clearly, some barriers to neighbourhood intervention are related to the reality of being disadvantaged. It has been argued that middle-class individuals create their communities to a great extent and that they are not tied to a geographical locale but are extensive and portable, a community of choice instead of one bound by a locale (Glynn, 1986). Conversely, low-income individuals may not have such a choice as to where they will live. Given the paucity of their living resources, it is likely that, while they are in most need of a supportive community, they are less able to purchase it which results in their greater dependence upon the neighbourhood in which they live (Trotter, 1981 ; Albrandt, 1984).

What specifically are the individual issues which preclude residents from getting involved in neighbourhood improvement efforts? For residents of low-income neighbourhoods, there are multiple stressors whose origins exist beyond their control. The primary stress is poverty; its pervasive influence creates multiple stressors which have an impact on their physical well-being, mental health, and sense of efficacy. Sense of efficacy is related both to community involvement and help-seeking. Hence, individuals with high levels of self-efficacy are likelier to be involved in taking action against a community stressor (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985). Conversely, low competence women in low density networks display higher levels of help-seeking (Birkel & Reppucci, 1983).

Even in neighbourhoods that are not disadvantaged by poverty, participants report that a lack of time, money, and ability are barriers to their participation in neighbourhood activities.

The transiency of residents of high-risk neighbourhoods is another barrier to the development and maintenance of neighbourhood organizations. Powell and Eisenstadt (1983) reported that the level of transiency in a neighbourhood worked against the development of social networks which resulted in an absence of helping ties and informal communication structures. Conversely, the length of residence was a central and critical determining factor in community attachment and action (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974).

Another significant barrier to participation in the neighbourhood is the physical environment which includes the way in which the neighbourhood is laid out and the provision of both public space and privacy. Rohe (1985) stated that the influence of the physical environment is mediated by such personal and social factors as personal history, sense of control, and supportive social network. Nevertheless, Rohe (1985) was able to delineate some environmental factors which seem to have an influence on social interaction in neighbourhoods. For instance, the amount of traffic, the upkeep of the street, and the provision of public space all influenced social interaction. Clean streets, with a low to moderate amount of traffic and the provision of public space served to enhance interaction, while a lack of privacy and too much visibility served to inhibit social interaction.

While there are several factors that can be elucidated from the literature which seem to influence the likelihood that community members will become involved in neighbourhood interventions, it is essential to fully appreciate the context in which interventions will be played out. Unger

and Nelson (1990) underscored this point in their evaluation of community-based parenting support programs. They stated that it is imperative to develop linkages and collaborative relationships with a wide range of community programs in a way that respects the community's culture and values.

Summary. In summary, the purpose of neighbourhood organizations is to strengthen the neighbourhood by offering stability and support to individuals and families isolated in their own communities. Neighbourhood organizations accomplish this by developing social support networks among residents, enabling/empowering residents to assess and respond to needs and offering educational, recreational and social programs to increase competence and skill levels. Neighbourhood organization activities are multi-focused, addressing the individual, the family, and the community. They have the capacity to provide a wide range of essential and or everyday support depending on the character and needs of any particular community (McGrath, 1991).

Approaches to Organizational Change

While neighbourhoods offer many advantages as sites for intervention there are many different approaches to the development of neighbourhood organizations. Three particular approaches offer perspectives on the growth and maintenance of new organizations, particularly those which strive to be innovative, to introduce something new, or to present an alternative to the status quo. Organizational development considers the establishment and growth of innovative ventures and the changing criteria for measuring the effectiveness of organizations as they move through their life cycle. Community psychology considers the development of

various types of alternative settings encompassing organizations which strive to help people in unconventional ways to settings which have a strong social action component. Community development is attuned to the development of new settings as they not only address the tasks, but also a process which strives to engage and empower participants.

Organizational development. Business administration has a literature relating to the development of innovative businesses and the role of the entrepreneur. Since this paper is interested in exploring the development and life cycle of new settings, it would be helpful to include an organizational development perspective. Quinn and Cameron (1983) summarized nine different models of organizational development from the literature of organizational design and analysis. Although these models are based on different organizational phenomena such as structure or functional problems, all of the models suggested progression through similar life cycles. From these nine models Quinn and Cameron (1983) formulated a summary model which was comprised of four stages: "entrepreneurial", "collectivity", "formalization and control", and "elaboration of structure" (see Table 1). During the "entrepreneurial" stage there were lots of ideas and very little planning, or co-ordination. There was a "prime mover" who had the power and activities included finding a market niche and marshaling resources. At the second stage, "collectivity", the informal communication and structure persisted and there was a sense of collectivity. Innovation continued and it was coupled with a sense of mission and high commitment. In the "formalization and control" stage the formalization of rules, institutionalization of procedures and a stable structure emerged. There was an emphasis on efficiency and maintenance. In the final stage, "elaboration of structure", there was

a focus on decentralization, domain expansion, adaptation and renewal. In summary this model suggested a movement from informality to bureaucracy with transitions between the stages marked by the necessity of solving critical problems. Quinn and Cameron (1983) further noted that there was a shift in the criteria used to evaluate the effectiveness of the organization as it progressed through its life cycle. Hence during the "entrepreneurial" stage the success of the organization was associated with its flexibility, growth, resource acquisition, and the development of external support. These issues were also important at other stages in the life cycle but they predominated in the entrepreneurial stage. During the "collectivity" stage organizational success was judged primarily by human relations criteria. Hence the importance of morale, cohesion, and human resource development predominated at this stage. Effectiveness in the "formalization" stage was measured by goal setting, goal attainment, productivity and efficiency. In the fourth stage, "elaboration of structure" the criteria for effectiveness returned to an emphasis on flexibility, resource acquisition and growth. The shift at different stages in the organization's life cycle between tasks, relationships and the surrounding environment are themes that are echoed in the literature of community psychology and community development.

Table 1

Organizational Development

RESEARCHER(S)	STAGES	TASKS	CRITICAL ISSUES	PROCESSES
Quinn & Cameron (1983)	1. Entrepreneurial	• Gather resources • Lots of ideas • Entrepreneurial activities • Little planning • "Prime mover" has power	• Flexibility, • Growth, • Resource acquisition, • Developing external support	• Broad based participation • Non-bureaucratic • Participatory decision-making
	2. Collectivity	• Informal communication structure • Sense of collectivity/mission • Innovation continues • High commitment	• Human resource management, • Need satisfaction, • Morale, • Cohesion	
	3. Formalization and Control	• Formal rules • Stable structure • Emphasis on efficiency/ maintenance • Institutionalized procedures	• Goal setting/ attainment • Productivity • Efficiency • Information management communication • Stability/control	• Pressure from external groups to be efficient, accountable
	4. Elaboration of Structure	• Elaboration of structure • Decentralization • Domain expansion • Adaptation • Renewal	• Flexibility • Growth • Resource acquisition	

Community psychology. Community psychology also has an interest in the study of organizations and Keys and Frank (1987) suggest some contributions that community psychology can make to the study of organizations. Community psychology is interested in organizations as they enhance the quality of life for individuals rather than increasing productivity. Community psychologists are attentive to the means rather than the end, attuned to the process as well as the content. Furthermore, they endeavour to appreciate the context within which an organization develops.

These themes are carried through in community psychology's efforts to create alternative settings. Creating alternative settings is conceived of as a better way of meeting the needs of people. This is particularly true when existing services are perceived as unresponsive, inaccessible, ineffective, costly, restrictive, punitive, or alienating (Reinharz, 1984 ; Wilkerson, 1988). Rothchild-Whitt (1976) noted that alternative settings were characterized by a collectivist structure in which rules were minimally stipulated; relationships were non-hierarchical, and there was a demystification of expertise. Furthermore, employment in the alternative setting was based on values and friendship and relationships were personal and valued in themselves. Ideology is a central issue in the creation of alternative settings; combining a critique of the mainstream condition with a proposal for change. The ideology of the alternative setting serves to give direction to the new setting and to attract public support (Reinharz, 1984). This is particularly evident in organizations that see themselves as part of social movements. For instance, in studying the development and maintenance or disintegration of feminist

organizations, Riger (1984) noted that ideology drives the way in which the organization structures itself and defines its organizational goals. Furthermore, she noted that organizations whose members differ sharply in their feminist orientations are more likely to decay and disintegrate.

Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) have provided a helpful analysis of the developmental processes within the conception and beginning of new organizations. However, they both warned that while stages help to provide an understanding of the external world they can also distort it because the stages are not distinct, bounded, or real. Furthermore, Sarason (1972) warned that the orientation of stages of growth suggest an inevitable process or outcome that is unfolding toward a pre-determined future which obviously is not the case. Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) drew on case studies of different organizations to present a grounded model of organizational creation. They suggested that the creation of an organization involves the development of ideas and relationships. Ideas are embodied in an organizational plan and later in specific details. The relationship exists initially between an individual and his/her idea and later between planners and subsequent members of the organization. Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) are both focused on the beginning of organizations and there is some overlap in their discussions of this first stage. However, Sarason's (1972) work formed the historical foundation upon which many authors from various disciplines have built. Conversely, the findings presented by Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) are more contemporary and a finer analysis of the first parts of the beginning stage which include "first ideas", "commitment and early planning" and "implementation" (see Table 2).

1. "Before the beginning"

Sarason (1972) has entitled the first stage, "before the beginning", and it is marked by the initial idea of a concerned group of people regarding a problem before there is any formal organization. The critical task at this stage is to confront one's history, that is to begin to think about the past as it informs the present. This stage is equally important for new organizations coming from existing ones or entirely new entities. Since no alternative setting is created in a vacuum, it is important to consider the history of the structure and pattern of relationships and actions of surrounding agencies as they now impact on the present. Additionally, a new setting can use this historic knowledge for actions which maximize the chance that it will be viable and consistent with its values and goals.

Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) called the first stage in development "first ideas" and while it corresponds with Sarason's "before the beginning" it probably occurs even earlier in the developmental process than confronting history. The characteristic tasks of the stage "first ideas" are: the perception of the problem and a sense that previous attempts to solve it have not succeeded. This proceeds to first ideas and fantasies about how the problem might be solved which typically encompasses a mission, the way the problem will be addressed, and a group to achieve this mission. The critical issues at this stage are the creativity and thoroughness of the first idea and the originator's relationship to the idea. The creativity and thoroughness of the first idea is captured in the activities of either problem-solving or problem-finding. The second critical issue, the originator's relationship to the problem may be one in which the originator cares primarily about the problem itself, or sees the problem as being

instrumental in reaching other goals and resources. Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) discovered that problem -finding and a concern about the problem in its own right were likeliest to lead to creative solutions.

For Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987), the second stage, "commitment and early planning", would still correspond with Sarason's "before the beginning" stage. The characteristic tasks at this stage involve a commitment to and the development of the first idea into an organization and forging relationships between the planners and the surrounding community. The critical issues are related to managing conflict, power, problems and interpersonal difficulties and the involvement of outside groups in the development of the organization. The thoroughness of the planning, the investment of the planners, as well as the management of conflict and the quality of the relationship with external groups all affected a new organization's success.

2. The "beginning"

The second stage that Sarason (1972) discussed is "the beginning" and in this stage one of the crucial issues becomes leadership. Along with the selection of the leader, is the leader's choice of a core group to whom the leader delegates responsibilities and power. The crucial issue at this point is the development of ground rules to deal with the conflicts which will inevitably arise, not only between the leader and the core members, but also amongst the core members.

As the creation of the setting progresses, members must confront their unexamined assumptions, one of which is the myth of unlimited resources. This myth involves the realization there will never be enough trained people and that one will never be able to serve everyone eligible for service. As soon as members accept the limitations of resources, they can

confront the context of their values and the formulation of both the problem and solution can take different forms. For instance, the formulation of the problem and the solution can provide the basis for justifying what is important and how things should be done.

Another major issue in the creation of settings is choosing and allocating human resources. These choices reflect not only the settings' definition of the tasks it is created to perform, but also the values of the setting. For instance, Sarason (1972) presented examples of how the definition of the task to be performed led to the use of non-professional, indigenous helpers and to a commitment to the critical evaluation of growth of the setting as an essential part of helping others to change and grow.

For Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987), the "implementation" stage marked the beginning of the organization. Their analysis of this stage is focused on initial start-up issues and does not extend into a latter time period that still marks the beginning of an organization in Sarason's typology. The characteristic tasks during implementation involve translating ideas into organizational features such a choosing the leader and hiring new organizational members who have not been part of the planning. Hence, the critical issues at this stage are the ways in which resources are used and the relationship among the planners, the new leader, and the new organizational members. At this stage, it is important that resource allocation correspond with the mission of the organization and there are adequate mechanisms for the transmission of the first ideas to the new members.

3. Seeds of decline

Although Sarason (1972) focused on the creation of settings, he also suggested some symptoms which he saw as indicative of the decline of the organization. The roots of these symptoms are found in the creation of settings, so that an awareness of them can be instructive in the beginning stage, an issue that Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) echoed in their conclusion. One of the issues that Sarason noted in the decline of organizations is the movement from tentativeness to definitiveness, particularly as evidenced in a preoccupation with the organizational chart. Instead, the organization needs to be prepared and to create vehicles for the necessity of change. The openness to change is essential not only in the organization remaining responsive to its constituency but also, so that the members of the organization can continue to experience growth, differentiation, and diversity. The openness to change helps to keep members vibrant and responsive.

The analyses of both Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) underscore particular themes. They both confirm the findings of Riger (1984), Schwartz, Gottesman and Perlmutter (1988) and Reinharz (1983) on the importance of ideology and the criticalness of resource allocation flowing from the ideological stance of the organization. Furthermore, they both support Quinn and Cameron's (1983) work in their discussion of the importance of both tasks and relationships. Additionally, both Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) suggest the importance of critical self-reflection not only in organizations confronting their history, but also in examining their underlying assumptions and values and being open to change.

Table 2

Community Psychology

RESEARCHER(S)	STAGES	TASKS	CRITICAL ISSUES	PROCESSES
Sarason (1972)	1. "Before the Beginning"	• Initial idea	• Confront one's history	
	2. The "Beginning"	• Select leader & core group • Allocate resources	• Develop ground rules for conflict • Confront myth of unlimited resources	
Bartunek & Betters-Read(1987)	1. "First Ideas"	• Originator perception of problem • Initial ideas to solve problem • Conception of mission • Informal testing/ revising ideas	• Creativity & thoroughness of formulation of "first idea" • Originator's relationship with "first idea"	• Exploration of problem & potential solutions
	2. Commitment and Early Planning	• Develop plan for organization • Establish relationships with originator, planners/ external groups	• Creativity & thoroughness of planning process • Commitment of originator & planners to organization • Internal dynamics among planners & originators (managing conflict)	
	3. Implementation	• Translate ideas into organizational features (staff, setting)	• Adequacy of resources • Correspondence between mission & use of resources • Transmitting first idea to new members • Relationship between "first" leader & new members	• Training & team building

Community development. Community development is a particular stream of social work which uses a locality development model. In the locality development model, community change may be pursued through broad participation of a wide spectrum of people at the local community level in goal determination and action (Rothman & Tropman, 1987). Clearly community development has much in common with community psychology with a shared emphasis on democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help and the development of indigenous leadership (Dunham, 1964). In locality development, both task and process goals are important but process goals often receive greater emphasis. "The community's capacity to become functionally integrated, to engage in cooperative problem-solving on a self-help basis and to utilize democratic process is of central importance" (Rothman & Tropman, 1987, p. 9).

1. Urban renewal

Within the literature of community development, there are predominately two foci of activity relevant to this paper's concentration on neighbourhoods. These are urban renewal projects and grassroots community groups. Urban renewal projects are often undertaken in poor and degenerating neighbourhoods as a way of improving the quality of housing and life in that neighbourhood (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). Unfortunately, while these projects are often successful in improving the appearance of these neighbourhoods, this does not translate into an increase in the residents' satisfaction with the neighbourhood. For instance, Menaheim and Spin (1989) reported that extensive investment to improve neighbourhoods did improve the image of the neighbourhood but

also had the untoward effect of increasing separation of the neighbourhood from its environment. Programs developed specifically for the residents of that neighbourhood increased the negative image of the neighbourhood. Therefore, while residents noted an increase in satisfaction with the services and facilities of the neighbourhood, there was not a corresponding increase in the view of the neighbourhood as a desirable place to live. Hence, the authors concluded that renewal in the neighbourhood would have been more successful if it had blurred the boundaries between the targeted neighbourhood and its surrounding neighbourhoods and improved accessibility to resources outside of the neighbourhood.

However, Coe (1990) compared and contrasted two urban renewal projects in which she captured not only the tasks the groups undertook but more importantly the process which differentiated between their subsequent success or failure. She referred to the successful approach as having an open focus which consisted of evocative leadership, open communication and collaborative vision. Coe (1990) described evocative leadership as one which encouraged all members to be involved and fostered widespread, versus centralized, leadership. Communication within the successful group was informal, open, and supportive. It was designed to create linkages between members in the network and to foster collaboration. The collaborative vision of the successful group was captured in a commitment to collaboration through all phases of the project and a joint development of solutions. Clearly, it was this conscious cultivation of open and collaborative processes which was attributed to the success of the project.

2. Grassroots groups

The second focus of activity in community development is grassroots, community groups whose goals are not necessarily urban renewal. Raeburn (1986) suggested a simple systems model of development of grassroots organizations. These organizations, comprehensive community projects (CCP), are broad-based in their interests in meeting recreational, social and educational needs rather than being a social service. The model begins with an overview phase which provides a scan of the environment including its resources and constraints and the proposed systems philosophy and values. Next, assessing community needs becomes the basis for setting goals, securing resources and acting. The CCP are under community control, soliciting community input and electing representatives annually. There is an ongoing commitment to annual goal setting and evaluation (Raeburn & Seymour, 1979). Daley and Kettner (1986) expanded this framework to emphasize the importance of celebrating success and progress. Using a similar framework, Crawley (1989) suggested that rather than one large problem solving cycle his data indicated the presence of smaller repetitive cycles which comprised the larger problem solving cycle.

Raeburn's (1986) approach emphasizes the critical importance of community input and ownership, a theme echoed in the local context of community building (McInnis, 1981). Heller (1992) further underscored the importance of the community's recognition and ownership of problems but reminds us that these alone are insufficient. People must feel competent in achieving some sort of problem resolution because they are unlikely to take action on problems they believe are unsolvable. Furthermore, it is necessary there be structures that expedite group

action. Blum and Ragab (1985) traced the life cycle of a grassroots group as they endeavour to address community needs using the processes that Raeburn and Heller describe.

Lifecycles within Grassroots Organizations

A coalition model. Blum and Ragab (1985) used participant observations and interviews in a six year study of four activist neighbourhood organizations which all shared an agenda of empowerment of local residents through social action and negotiation. These organizations were actually an organization of coalitions (i.e., churches, block clubs etc.), instead of simply a single neighbourhood organization. Blum and Ragab (1985) have identified six developmental stages through which these organizations have progressed with each stage providing distinctive challenges and issues. The six stages that they identified were: "generation", "formalization", "coalescence", "transition", "regeneration and coalescence" and "stability, transition or decline"(see Table 3).

1."Generation stage"

The "generation stage" lasted from one year to 18 months. It was characterized by a group of residents who identified a key issue of concern in the neighbourhood and approached the Catholic Commission for the assignment of a staff to work with them. The staff's role was to help the residents focus on a winnable issue and provide an analysis of the problem and key players, as well as research relating to the facts and suitable strategies. Blum and Ragab (1985) noted that it was at this stage that a charismatic leader or entrepreneur emerged. Furthermore, they also noted that the groups they studied confronted the same issues as other groups reported in the literature. These critical issues were: identifying an ideology, establishing a means of recruiting and building an organizational

base and structure, and establishing a relationship with its constituents and its external environment. All groups were able to use the ideology of empowerment of people as a focus for organizational development and recruitment. Similarly, all groups used a town meeting format for decision-making and recruitment. As the groups grew, they used subcommittees to organize around issues. Initially, the organizations' relationship with the external environment was characterized by being ignored, threatened and then culminating in negotiations.

2. "Formalization"

The second stage was "formalization" which lasted from six to nine months. As the name suggests, the key tasks at this stage were formalizing a structure, decision-making, division of labour and a systematic means of communication. It was also necessary to formalize a committee structure and to re-define staff roles. Accountability became an issue as the leader and core members were now elected and accountable to a clearly defined constituency. Similarly, staff accustomed to organizing now had to devote more time to organizational maintenance.

3. "Coalescence"

The third stage, "coalescence", marked the golden age of the organization in which the organizational structure became fully operational with leadership and staff using the structure to facilitate membership participation in decision-making and social action. More responsibilities were shifted from the Commission to the organization and commitment to the neighbourhood was high. One of the key issues that the organizations faced at this time was a drift away from their ideological focus to service provision. This pull was particularly strong given that the

flow of dollars was in the direction of service provision. Hence, there was a danger that funding rather that ideology would become the driving source.

4. "Transition"

The fourth stage was "transition" and was marked by changes in leadership and staff, threats to ideology, shifts in the choice of issues, changes in strategy, and breakdowns in participation and communication. Clearly this had an impact on the kind of work that the organization could do. There was also an ideological drift to broad based instead of neighbourhood issues during this time which resulted in a significant drop in neighbourhood participation. A drop in funding created further shifts in ideology to focusing on fundraising rather than organizing and to pursue funding tied to a service-project.

5. "Regeneration and Coalescence"

The fifth stage was "regeneration and coalescence". All the organizations that the researchers studied were in the regeneration stage. Leadership emerged; although not as charismatic as the founding group they are nonetheless dedicated. The focus has returned to neighbourhood issues. While funding remained a critical issue for all the groups, two of the groups returned to an empowerment ideology while the other two drifted toward being conventional service organizations.

6. "Stability, Transition and Decline"

This sixth stage was hypothesized in the model but none of the organizations studied reached this stage. Instead of a stage of stability there were recurring cycles of the fifth stage: generation and regeneration. At the time of publication one organization appeared to be on the verge of decline.

Blum and Ragab (1985) concluded that neighbourhood groups need to conceptualize their strategies based on power instead of powerlessness and that it is essential that the creation of a social infrastructure accompany the development of a physical infrastructure since neighbourhood revitalization is dependent upon resident revitalization. Furthermore, they noted that there is no stage of stability; rather that organizations will continually repeat the previous cycles, a finding supported by Cawley (1989) who studied grassroots groups using the shared process evaluation system model.

Blum and Ragab (1985) also described the necessary conditions for the continuation rather than decline of the organization. They suggested that the organization must have a leadership core, legitimacy and project support from the external community, as well as an ongoing commitment to its empowerment ideology. The authors suggested that two factors play a critical role in the healthy maintenance of these organizations. One of these factors is a commitment to a cycle of vigilance. This involves the organization being directly engaged in an on-going evaluation of variance between their conduct and their stated ideology, particularly as it relates to a drift toward becoming a more conventional social service agency(Blum & Ragab, 1985). It is essential that the organization have assistance from those outside the organization to make a critical assessment of themselves, a finding supported by Sarason (1972), Reinharz (1983) and Riger (1984). Secondly, the role that the Catholic Commission played in the organizations was significantly related to the organizations' early development and success.

Lutherwood model. The setting of this particular research also has a model of the life cycle of a neighbourhood organization. The model was

developed by drawing on the principles of community development and community psychology. Unlike the model presented by Blum and Ragab (1985) the neighbourhood organization has a primary prevention focus and is seen as a powerful vehicle for mobilizing and empowering participants. The model conceptualizes neighbourhood organizations as moving through four stages of development: "initiating", "building", "stabilizing" and "consulting" (M'Timkulu, 1982)(see Table 3).

1. "Initiating"

The purpose of the initiating stage is to confirm the neighbourhood as "at risk," to introduce the concept of neighbourhood organization, and to reach neighbourhood members.

2. "Building"

During the building stage the needs and resources of the community are assessed in greater detail. A facilitator seeks to engage residents in assessing the strengths and needs of the community. Members begin to get to know and trust each other and the concept of mutual aid is introduced.

3. "Stabilizing"

The stabilizing phase is focused on developing competence and leadership at the neighbourhood level. Planning becomes more systematic and the organization develops linkages with other organizations in the community. This stage culminates in transition in which the neighbourhood centre becomes incorporated with full ownership and accountability at the neighbourhood level.

4. "Consulting"

The final stage is consulting in which Lutherwood offers regular consultation to the organization. There is a recognition that there will be

fluctuations at this stage that will require a flexible approach to resources and relationships (McGrath, 1991).

This model has provided a conceptual framework in which to plan and work in neighbourhoods. The research undertaken in this paper will explore the experiences of participants and staff of the neighbourhood organizations as they have experienced the various lifecycles outlined in the model.

Table 3

Community Development

RESEARCHER(S)	STAGES	TASKS	CRITICAL ISSUES	PROCESSES
Blum & Ragab (1985)	1. Generation	• Select winnable issue • Problem analysis • Research on facts & strategies • Re-inforce ideology • Discuss consistency of actions with ideology • Develop skills of leadership • Commission provides technical assistance	• Identify an ideology • Establish a means of recruiting & building an organizational base • Establish relationships with constituents, external neighbourhood	• Identifying a key issue of concern in neighbourhood • Approaching Catholic Commission for staff • Using empowerment ideology/ language for organizing • Participatory democracy
	2. Formalization	• Formalize structure /decision-making committee structure • Re-define staff roles • Divide labour • Develop a systematic means of communication	• Accountability (actions to be sanctioned by executive committee)	• More time to organizational maintenance
	3. Coalescence	• Organization becomes operational • Fiscal/ management responsibilities shift from Commission to local organizations	• Create a cycle of vigilance: to prevent a drift away from ideological focus to service provision • Funding rather than ideology as driving force	• Move from a reactive organization to a proactive one
	4. Transition	• Change in leadership/ staff, choice of issues, strategy • Breakdown in communication, participation	• Funding drops necessitated fund raising activities which diverted energy from organizing. • Partnerships with external groups compromise confrontation strategies	• Attendance at public meetings/conventions dropped off.
	5. Regeneration and Coalescence	• Leadership re -emerges • Return to focus on neighbourhood issues • Training programs for board & staff	• Funding	• Resident participation, • Informal communication

Community Development

PERSPECTIVE	RESEARCHER(S)	STAGES	TASKS	CRITICAL ISSUES	PROCESSES
Community Development	Lutherwood model (M'Timkulu, 1982) McGrath, 1991).	1. Initiating	• Determine neighbourhood parameters • Identify key informants • Approach participants	• Re-affirm community as "at risk" • Introduce concept of neighbourhood organization	• Needs assessment
		2. Building	• Assess needs /resources • Engage residents in determining strengths/ needs • Develop programs	• Potential leaders develop roles/ competence • Develop collective structure(centre)	• Introduce concept of mutual help • Staff as facilitators vs. experts • Developing/ enhancing existing social supports
		3. Stabilizing/ Transition	• Develop competence of members • Establish wide base of leadership • Establish links with other systems • Systematic planning	• Increased resident involvement • Struggle with principles, values. • Full ownership /accountability by community group • Secure resources • Leadership training	• Increasing social competence
		4. Consulting	• Regular, on-going consultation with sponsor • Continue recruitment, training, integration of new members	• Flexibility in relationship with consulting organization	• Utilizing adult education principles

An integrated model of lifecycle change in grassroots organizations.

1.Ideology,tasks and relationships.

Clearly there are predominant themes, critical issues and processes in the life cycles of organizations which flow from the perspectives of organizational development, community psychology, and community development. These themes are related to ideology, relationships, and tasks. Particularly in the community psychology and community development literature, ideology is essential. It is crucial that the ideology be identified, since the organizational structure and resource allocation flow from that ideology. There must be a cycle of vigilance to prevent a drift away from ideology and the ideology must be effectively communicated to subsequent members. Relationships within the organization, between the organization and the surrounding community, and between the organization and its sponsor are also critical. There must be ways of fostering collaboration, open communication, participation, ownership, action, and for managing conflict. The organization must be seen as legitimate and draw support not only from its constituency but also from the other organizations which surround it. Within the realm of relationships it is essential that an organization be committed to critical self-reflection and the changes that come as a result of that reflection. Thirdly, the theme of tasks flows across all the perspectives. Clearly organizations must continually cycle through each phase, determining how to translate their vision, or first ideas, into organizational tasks and structures. They must take action and evaluate the impact and use this to generate other tasks.

2. Problem-solving, community building and systems interaction.

These issues come together in an integrated model of community development suggested by Jones and Silva (1991). They identify three components in their model: problem-solving, community building, and systems interactions. Problem-solving has been a historic focus within organizational development and in this paper, Raeburn (1986) is an example of such an approach. The approach is task-oriented; a problem is identified, a decision is made about what to do about the problem followed by action and evaluation. In Jones and Silva (1991), the problem-solving component is comprised of exploration, assessment, goal setting, planning and implementation and evaluation. Hence, in this model there is a distinction between exploration and assessment and a distinct planning phase.

A distinguishing feature of community development is its emphasis on process and not just task (Rothman & Tropman, 1987). This emphasis is captured in the community building aspect of the model. It consists of entering the community, discovering the community, developing relationships, building an organization, enhancing community capacity, phasing out, and exiting. The practitioner begins by entering the community and beginning to interact with the residents. It progresses to discovering the community, meeting people and learning "who's who and what's what". As activities continue, this paves the way for developing a relationship, establishing links among parties who should be in contact with each other, and working together. This leads to the building of an organization, formalizing a new structure to carry on the work of community development. As the organization is being built, the practitioner works on enhancing community capacity, locating leaders,

increasing skills and getting action underway. Satisfactory progress then allows the community developer to start phasing out, passing on the skills and reins to the others and stepping back. This culminates in ultimately withdrawing from the setting (Jones & Silva, 1991).

The systems interaction phase of the model focuses on the change agent (the person seeking to make a change in the community), the change agent system (the entity that sponsors the change agent), the client system (the entity on whose behalf the intervention is undertaken), the target system (the entity that has to be altered in some way in order for the client system to benefit), and an action system (the vehicle used or the set of relationships entered into in order to bring about change). Hence, the change agent enters the community and begins to interact with the client system. Together they identify the target system and construct an action system (Jones & Silva, 1991).

All three components of the model contribute an essential ingredient. Problem-solving generates action; community building assures ownership of the action; systems interaction gives direction to the action (Jones & Silva, 1991). In actual practice, all components are interwoven and various tasks of each component occur contemporaneously. (See Figure 1 for a graphic representation of the three components of the system and Table 4 for the specific tasks and steps associated and interwoven with each component).

Figure 1

Integrated practice model for community development

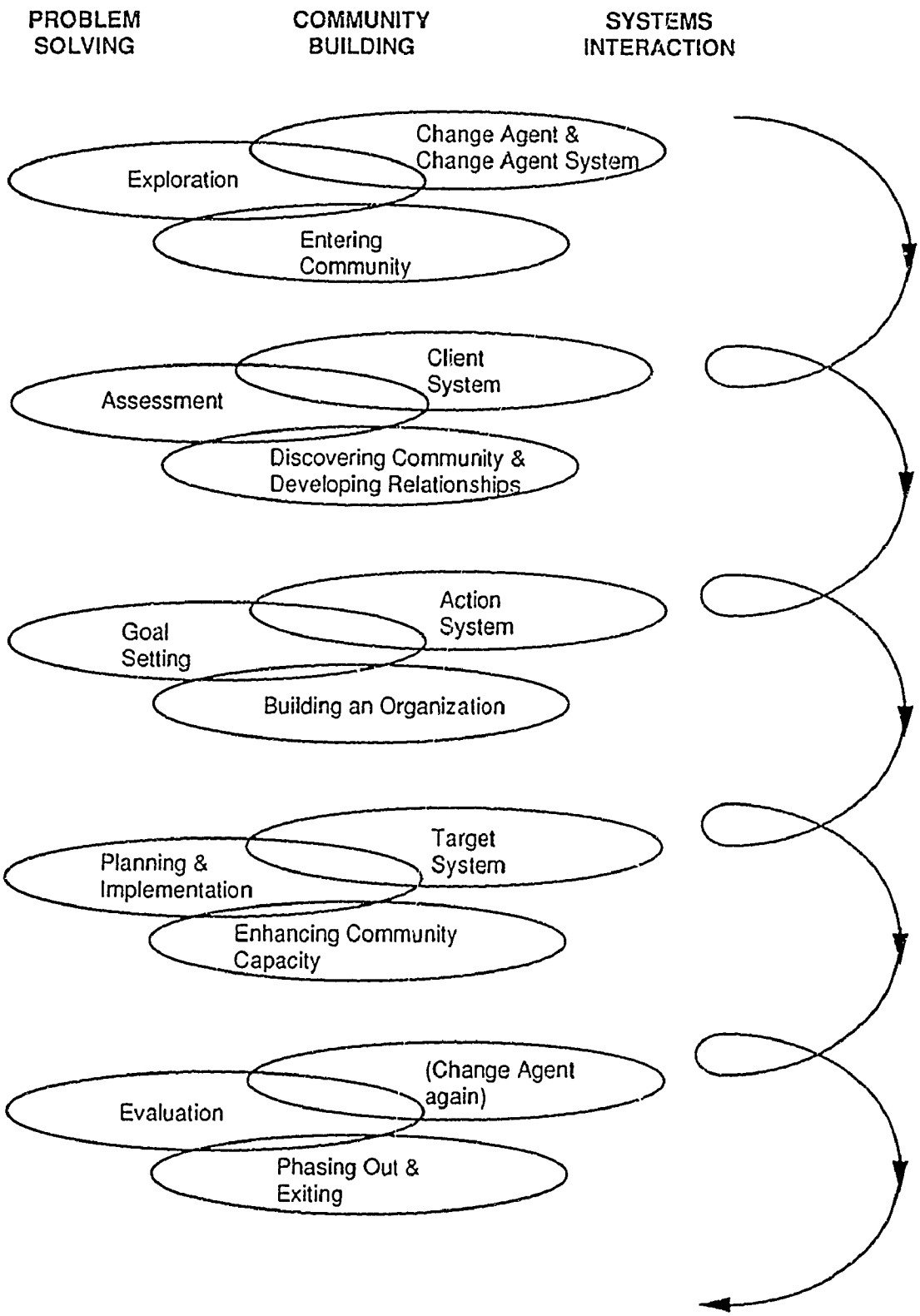

Table 4

An Integrated Practice Model for Community Development

PROBLEM SOLVING (Produces Action)	**Exploration** • Look at existing conditions • Ferret out problems • Determine ownership of problem • Determine community's ability & resources to deal with problem • Consider potentials for change	**Assessment** • Make sense of information gathered • Get a clearer picture of the community, the problem & what needs to be done	**Goal Setting** • Identify what the community wants to do	**Planning** • Layout the specific steps that need to be taken	**Implementation** • Take action named in plan	**Evaluation** • Assess what has & what has not been accomplished & why • Feedback evaluation findings to all parties
COMMUNITY BUILDING (Produces Ownership of action by the community)	**Entering Community** • Obtain sanction to intervene from credible parties • Broaden base of contacts beyond parties who extended invitation	**Discovering Community** • Collect information to see community from a variety of perspectives • Use surveys, interviews, observations, key informants, content analysis of written material **Developing Relationships** • Show genuine interest, do favors & spend time with people	**Building an Organization** • Connect people who need to be connected to one another • Hold first formal meetings • Create task force, committee, or ad hoc group or revive dormant one	**Enhancing Community Capacity** • Identify potential leaders and show them new skills • Devise an early quick victory to establish track record, build momentum & draw in new members • Serve as model for, & maybe do formal training in democratic group behaviour	**Phasing Out** • Make sure skills are being developed, leadership is in place, direction has been established & momentum is present	**Exiting** • Depart from community, but leave the door open for possible return if needed • Maintain periodic contact to check up on progress
SYSTEMS INTERACTION (Produces direction to action)	**Change Agent & Change Agent System** • Change agent is the practitioner who is trying to make a change. • Change agent system is entity for which change agent works; understand resources & constraints	**Client System** • Define precisely who is to benefit from changes to be made	**Action System** • Bring together parties who will carry action forward	**Target System** • Identify entity that must be changed if client system is to benefit; it may be other or client system itself		

Staff and Participants' Experiences

In addition to understanding the life cycle of organizations in terms of the tasks, processes and issues they face, it is important to include the perspective of the staff and participants who have lived the experience. In this section I will cull from the literature the feelings and experiences that staff and participants have reported. Clearly there are a multitude of feelings and perceptions that members of a new setting experience and often there is no distinction made between members who are staff or volunteers. Freudenberger (1975), Reinharz (1983), and Riger (1984) described some of the occupational hazards related to involvement in alternative settings (settings with a strong commitment to an ideology and a non-bureaucratic structure). Given the commitment to an ideological stance and the sense of mission that participants embrace, there is often a problem with over commitment and with managing emotional intensity. Both of these have been related to the high rate of turn-over and burn-out in alternative settings (Freudenberger, 1975 ; Reinharz, 1983). Another issue experienced by both staff and participants is the stress of working in an alternative setting. Several authors cite the problems associated with securing adequate, continuing funding as one source of this stress. An additional source of stress is related to the reception that the alternative setting receives from the surrounding settings; often it is characterized by resistance and rejection (Mott, 1986; Blum & Ragab, 1885 ; Riger, 1984).

Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters–Reed (1987) traced the feelings and experiences of participants as they progress through the beginning stages of the organization. In the "before the beginning" stage, participants report feelings of high enthusiasm and excitement, a sense of mission and the stimulation of novelty. While they may experience

discomfort related to the problem, they nevertheless anticipate the consequences of success and the challenge of personal and professional growth. During the commitment and early planning stage, participants report experiencing conflict between the originator and the new planners about the organization. They also experience ambiguity, conflict and frustration, not only in translating ideas into more concrete plans, but also in negotiating relationships with the surrounding organizations. During the implementation stage, participants experience excitement and satisfaction about "closure", as the organization is beginning to operate. Participants also report feelings of frustration in transmitting their founding ideas to subsequent members.

Croft and Beresford (1988) also traced the experiences of participants through the stages of organizational action. They exclusively presented the participants' view, as they reported on their involvement in a tenants' group. Initially, Croft and Beresford (1988) reported feelings of uncertainty in working with their neighbours because as a group they had no history of working together, no shared opinion, or agenda. Commitment and camaraderie grew, but the emerging solidarity felt fragile. They noted that the community workers were seen as the experts and the tenants never felt as if they could, or ought to challenge them. Furthermore, the authors reported that attempts to bring the tenants together was actually divisive; bringing differences to the forefront. It seemed as if the only thing that the tenants had in common was a housing problem and even the nature of the problem was not something on which all of the tenants could agree. During the action phase Croft and Beresford (1988) reported that a differing agenda emerged between the community workers and the tenants. The tenants were clearly interested

in improving their housing, while the community workers seemed to be interested in the tenants' group as a vehicle for challenging the local council. Not only did differing agendas emerge but the relationship between the tenants' group and the community workers continued to be characterized by a power differential in which the community workers determined the tasks that the tenants ought to be taught rather than what the tenants felt would be helpful for them to learn. Croft and Beresford (1988) concluded with a list of recommendations for community workers and suggested that one of the key problems was the paternalistic approach of the community workers toward the tenants. Despite the experiences of Croft and Beresford (1988), there are instances in which participants report high levels of satisfaction with neighbourhood groups and the programs in which participants have been involved (Raeburn, 1986; Pancer & Alcalde, 1992).

Furthermore, Crawley's (1981) research suggests that community workers and participants have a different perception of the development process. For instance, participants who have been involved in a problem-solving cycle are likely to see this process as central and far along in the continuum of the organization's growth. Conversely, staff appear to have a more encompassing perception of the organization in which the particular problem-solving activity is but a part, perhaps couched in the early to middle development of the organization.

Another factor that will impact on the perceptions of both staff and participants is the changing role of the staff in the community development process. Within the community development framework, staff are seen as enablers and facilitators (Rothman & Tropman, 1987). However, there is latitude within this conception of the staff role which is often dependent

upon where the organization is in its growth cycle. For instance, initially staff may take a more active outreach and organizing role as a way of mobilizing participants. During the middle stages of the organization staff may be more facilitative, providing training and helping the organization to define roles and utilize group processes (Blum & Ragab, 1985; Crawley, 1989). As the organization begins to coalesce, the staff role becomes more supportive than facilitative. Lotz (1982) captured the tensions and incongruencies of the staff role well when he describes community workers:

> Community workers have to be able to handle ambiguity, to balance top down requirements and bottom up demands, to stimulate change and to encourage conservation, to handle both community development and personal development; to be able confront their own values and those of the community and to learn from these moments of truth (p.31).

Clearly the members of new organizations experience a broad range of both positive and negative emotions. It is instructive that these can be related not only to the tasks they face, but the nature of their work and the growth pains of the organization.

Summary

The three perspectives discussed in this paper all contribute to an understanding of the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations. Organizational development highlights how critical tasks change as the organization moves through its developmental cycle. It also suggests the importance of using shifting criteria for evaluating organizational effectiveness which is matched to the developmental stage of the organization in question. Community psychology underscores the central importance of ideology in the development and life of the organization. Furthermore, community psychology also focuses on the quality of the

relationships between the neighbourhood centre and its sponsors and surrounding community. It asks questions about the management of conflict and the place of critical self-reflection in the various relationships of the neighbourhood centre. The community development perspective echoes many of the themes of the other perspectives and highlights the importance of open and collaborative processes that foster community input, ownership, leadership and mutual aid. All three perspectives appreciate the developmental nature of organizations and the distortion that the assignment of developmental stages can introduce to an understanding of the dynamic nature of these organizations. Nevertheless, there are common stages, issues and tensions which characterize a diverse group of organizations. An essential part of understanding the life cycle of the organization is to appreciate the paths that transverse the life cycle. These paths capture the tasks of the organization, the processes that the organization uses and the systemic interaction it experiences not only with its constituency but also the broader community of which it is a part. However, these paths are not imposed upon the life cycle in an exclusive, or linear fashion; instead they interact with each other, enhancing one another so that process enhances task and task impacts on the larger systemic issues. Clearly the life cycle of organizations in the richness of their tasks, processes and interplay with other systems does not occur only in an abstract, theoretical sense. Rather it becomes vibrant through the lives of the staff and participants of the organization. They experience the ambiguity, emotional intensity, and stresses of the dy. aic ebb and flow which characterizes neighbourhood centres. It is within this dynamic context that this research will occur.

Study Question

How do the various stakeholders in neighbourhood organizations experience the life cycle of these organizations?

The model proposed by Jones and Silva (1991) will be used as a framework for exploring the experiences of the various stakeholders. Hence participants and staff will be asked about the various tasks the centre undertakes and the problems it tackles, the problem-solving aspect of the model. Participants and staff will also be asked about their roles and relationships and how they feel about their experiences with the centre, the community building aspect of the model. Finally participants and staff will be asked about the relationships with the sponsor, Lutherwood, and also about their evolving relationships with other organizations in Cambridge and Kitchener, the systems interaction component of the model.

Propositions. (Something to be discussed, proved, explained (Yin, 1989)

1. To describe participant's experiences in the neighbourhood associations.
2. To describe staff's experiences in the neighbourhood associations.
3. To describe the evolving relationship between the neighbourhood associations and their sponsor, Lutherwood.
4. To describe the evolving relationship between the neighbourhood associations and the neighbourhood and social service organizations in Cambridge which surround them.
5. To elucidate a model of community development which is grounded in the experiences of the various stakeholders and will be helpful in planning and evaluation.

Method

Research Context

Lutherwood is a children's mental health centre serving the Waterloo Region. In additon to providing residential services Lutherwood also provides youth employment services, services to new parents, a visitation program for non-custodial parents, and neighbourhood centres. All of these programs are directed by program managers who report to the Director of Community Services. Lutherwood has developed a framework for intervention that combines the four different but interrelated concepts: social competence, social support, adult education and community development. The vehicle for the realization of this intervention framework is the neighbourhood organization. Neighbourhood organizations aim to strengthen the neighbourhood by offering stability and support to both individuals and to families. This is accomplished by developing social networks, enabling and empowering individuals, and offering educational, recreational, and social programs to increase skill and competence (McGrath, 1991). Currently there are four neighbourhood centres located in Cambridge and Kitchener that are at various stages of development. (These stages of development: initiating, building, stabilizing and consulting were discussed earlier in the paper in the context of life cycles of neighbourhood organizations). The oldest centre, Highland -Stirling is located in Kitchener and was initiated in 1978 and has been autonomous since 1987. Hence Lutherwood provides only consultative services to this centre. The three remaining centres are all located in Cambridge and are at various stages of development. Greenway - Chaplain was initiated in 1984 and has recently become autonomous. Southwood was initiated in 1988 and is in the building-stabilizing phase. Christopher - Champlain was initiated in 1990 and is in the initiating-building stage.

Lutherwood and its neighbourhood centres provide excellent practicum opportunities for students of community psychology and social work. Hence from the fall of 1991 to the spring of 1992 I spent over 200 hours in one of the neighbourhood centres. During this time I worked with members of the Southwood neighbourhood centre on a needs assessment of the community. This involved the determination of a strategy, development of the assessment tool (a survey) , conducting the door-to-door survey, tabulating the results, formulating recommendations and presenting results. The formulation of the current research has grown out of the issues and relationships forged during the practicum.

Advisory Committee

Similarly the conception, design, implementation, and interpretation of this research was done collaboratively with the stakeholders. An advisory committee with membership from each of the neighbourhood organizations was formed to provide a vehicle for input into the various stages of the research project. See appendices A and B for the terms of reference for the advisory committee and the work plan, respectively. Members of the committee formed a valuable link between the research project and the various neighbourhood centres, providing information and feedback. The advisory committee is planning to meet in September to discuss ways of sharing the findings of the research with other participants of the various neighbourhood organizations. Some of the possibilities for sharing the results are a board retreat, or a forum with several of the neighbourhood organizations together. The advisory group will also discuss some of the issues that have been identified through the research and decide how they might want to respond to them (see appendix A for an outline of the issues to be tabled with the advisory committee). It is hoped that the results of the

research will be informative to the neighbourhood organizations which have yet to enter the later stages of development. An anticipated outcome for the sponsoring agency, Lutherwood, is a grounded model of community development that can be used in planning, resource allocation, evaluation, and education. Both the director of community development and the program manager have read the thesis and are interested in disseminating it to other groups and using the issues outlined in the thesis as a basis for discussion and action.

Case Study Methodology

I used a case study methodology for this study. Yin (1989) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used"(p.23). This approach provided an in-depth description of each of the neighborhood organizations which in turn helped to elucidate a model of the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations. Hence the research is grounded in the experiences of the participants and staff.

Units of Analysis

The four neighbourhood centres that have been sponsored by Lutherwood constitute the units of analysis. They are defined by their geographic boundaries and are: Highland-Stirling, Greenway-Chaplin, Southwood, and Christopher-Champlain. These organizations have given their permission to publish their names.

Highland Stirling. The Highland Stirling neighbourhood centre is the only Lutherwood initiated centre located in Kitchener. Unlike the other neighbourhood centres it shares space with another neighbourhood organization in a portable building. The building includes a glassed in

reception area, offices and multipurpose rooms. It is more formal than the Cambridge centres. The centre is located in one of Kitchener's older, more established neighbourhoods. The streets that form the boundary of the catchment area are Ottawa Street, Mill Street, Spadina Street, Glen Road, South Drive and Homer-Watson Boulevard. The homes are modest, older single-family dwellings and apartment buildings. There are two elementary schools, three churches and two parks in the neighbourhood. In the past few years the neighbourhood has become home to a number of recent immigrants from Laos and Vietnam. The centre is working to address the language barriers that make the involvement of recent immigrants at the centre difficult. The approximate population of the catchment area is 5,500.

Greenway-Chaplin. The Greenway-Chaplin neighbourhood centre is located in a townhouse unit in a public housing complex in Galt. The streets that form the boundary of the catchment area of the neighbourhood association are Dunbar Street, Avenue Road, Hespler Road and Franklin Boulevard. The neighbourhood is solely residential and is comprised primarily of modest single-family dwellings and duplexes with only a few apartment buildings. There are at least three Ontario Housing Complexes in the area which tend to blend in with the existing housing. There are two elementary schools and one secondary school within the neighbourhood. The elementary schools are often used for programming sites in the neighbourhood. Additionally, there are three parks in the area which are used predominately by the City for summer recreational programs. There are a number of Portuguese residents in the neighbourhood but they do not tend to become involved with the centre. The approximate population of the catchment area based on 1986 census data is 10,265.

Southwood. The Southwood neighbourhood association is located in a townhouse unit in a public housing complex in Galt (southwest Cambridge). The catchment of the neighbourhood association is bounded by Townline Road, St. Andrew's Street and Cedar Street. There is a great diversity in residential housing within the catchment area ranging from some of the most exclusive and expensive homes in Cambridge to ranch style homes, apartments and subsidized housing. There are three elementary schools and one secondary school within the catchment area. Additionally there are two parks and three churches. These sites are all used for programming by the neighbourhood association. The approximate population of the catchment area based on 1986 census data is 3,759.

Christopher–Champlain. The Christopher Champlain neighbourhood association is located in the is located in a townhouse unit in a public housing complex in Galt (Cambridge). The catchment of the neighbourhood association is bounded by the Grand River, Myers Road, Concession and Dundas Streets. There is a high density of residential housing, which includes subsidized housing, apartment buildings, townhouses and single-family dwellings. There is a distinct Portuguese community within the catchment, some of whom reside in more expensive, single-family dwellings on streets with Portuguese names (Lisbon Pines and Fatima). There are four elementary schools, one secondary school, five churches, and two parks. These sites are used for programming by the neighbourhood centres.

All of the neighbourhoods share the characteristics of housing a higher percentage of low-income residents, single-parent families and residents with lower levels of education than the Cambridge, or Ontario average (Cambridge in Transition, 1988). The approximate population of the catchment area based on 1986 census data is 8,059.

Linking Data to Propositions

Individual interviews. Individual interviews were used to collect the data which allowed the researcher access to historical issues that are unavailable with participant observation. Qualitative interviews provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understanding in their own terms (Patton, 1990). I used an interview guide approach that provided a general outline of the issues that were covered with each participant but did not predetermine the specific wording, or ordering of the questions. Instead I was free to adapt them to each unique context with flexibility to probe and to explore. Furthermore, it allowed me to ask for elaboration, details or further clarification.

The questions in the interview guide were organized chronologically (see Appendix C). They cover the broad categories: activities, decision-making, organizational structure, relationships, personal involvement, critical issues, incorporating and assessing impact. The literature reviewed in the earlier section of this paper provided a framework for checking out whether staff and participants experienced some of the issues that the literature identified in innovative organizations. For instance, the evolution of the "first idea", the role of ideology, use of resources, coping with stress, and change were all discussed in the literature and explored in the interview guide. Similarly all of the questions in the interview guide tapped issues that are captured in the Jones and Silva (1991) framework of problem-solving, community building and systems interaction.

While the same interview guide was used for both staff and participants, I began by asking them to focus on their current experiences within the organization. I moved from the present context to asking them about the past and then the future. Although, this was the approach I

followed it was also necessary for me to provide a frame of reference to orient the participants to the questions. Rather than laying out the Lutherwood model and have participants pigeon-hole their experiences into the model, I used specific instances in the life of each neighbourhood organization that helped to illustrate a particular stage. For instance I might ask about the annual meeting, the hiring of one of the staff, or a particular board meeting that was the forum to resolve a contentious issue. I also used the advisory committee to help in the development of a contextual framework within which participants could respond.

The interviews were tape-recorded for later transcription. All of the participants consented to having the interviews recorded although there were times during the interview when they turned off the recorder. Besides taping the interviews, I also made notes during the interview. All of the individuals interviewed were women and were recommended by the advisory committee because of their lengthy involvement with at least one neighbourhood organization and their ability to discuss developmental issues across the lifecycle. Thirteen stakeholders were interviewed, nine staff and four volunteers. These women ranged in age from late twenties to early fifties, with an approximate mean age of 36. Four staff are currently working for the organization and five staff had worked for the organization in the past. These staff included the current and past directors of Lutherwood's community services, the current and past program managers of community development, and current and past community workers. The four volunteers included three current members and one past member of the boards of each of the respective neighbourhood associations. These volunteers had participated in programs at the centre and worked on various committees as well as, the executive of the board.

Focus group interviews. Five focus group interviews were conducted, one at each of the neighbourhood organizations and one additional group was conducted with Cambridge service providers who have regular contact with at least one neighbourhood organization. The advisory committee recommended individuals from each of their settings to be invited to a focus group. All of the groups were comprised of board members and in two instances staff members from the setting also participated in focus groups. The groups ranged in size from two to five members and all participants were women between the ages of approximately twenty-five and fifty. Hence the total number of participants in all of the neighbourhood focus groups was fifteen. All of the arrangements for the neighbourhood organization focus group were made by the advisory committee member from that group. The questions for the focus group were developed by the advisory committee (see appendix D). Participants consented to having the session recorded and the responses were also recorded on flip charts.

The focus group involving service providers was held at one of the neighbourhood centres. There were six participants, four women and two men who represented South Waterloo Housing Authority, Early Identification, Early Intervention Program, City of Cambridge Community Services department and a principal from a local elementary school. These individuals often had contact with more than one of the Cambridge neighbourhood organizations and in some cases their involvement spanned a nine year period. Once again, these participants were recommended by the advisory committee who also helped to formulate the interview questions (see appendix D). Participants consented to having the session recorded and the responses were also recorded on flip charts.

Data Analysis

A total of 13 interviews were conducted; 12 were conducted over a three month period and transcribed, while the 13 th was done during the analysis of the data and integrated with the emerging analysis. Both individual and focus group interviews lasted from one and a half hours to three hours, with the three hour interviews conducted in two sessions. Hence the interview transcripts varied in length from 19 to 58 pages. I reviewed each transcript by listening to the interview tape and reading the transcript on line to make corrections to errors made in transcription. Once the interviews were transcribed they were returned to the people interviewed to make additions, deletions or corrections. Most people made minor corrections to the grammar of the statements that they had made; however two individuals made substantial changes to the grammar of their transcripts. All the people interviewed consented not only to the research but also to the publication of their quotations once they had reviewed them in the context in which they would appear in a draft copy of the thesis (see appendix F for letter to participants and consent form).

Once the interview transcripts were returned they were coded using open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I began by coding a small piece of the data, a sentence or a paragraph, giving it a descriptive label or name. I wrote the codes in the margins of the transcript(see appendix E). I particularly noted words and phrases used by the interviewees themselves. For instance the categories: "taking flight without crashing", "overseer or partner" are in vivo, phrases used by the interviewees (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These codes were then sorted into the corresponding neighbourhood centre and stage of development (initiating, building, stabilizing, consulting, overall comments on the model). Next I focused on one stage and used the interview guide to

establish some preliminary categories into which to sort the data (see appendix B for interview guide). These categories were staff role, volunteer role/ recruitment, relationship between staff and volunteers, relationship between centre and immediate neighbourhood, relationship between centre and surrounding community of service providers, relationship between centre and Lutherwood, prevention philosophy/mission, critical issues, activities, personal feelings, strengths/weaknesses, organizational structure, and volunteers working together. For the initiating stage I used the additional categories of: selection of neighbourhood, perception of problem and first involvement. For the building stage I used the additional categories of setting direction and stresses. For the stabilizing stage I used the additional categories: getting ready to incorporate/feelings and assessing impact. For the consulting stage I used the additional category: role of consultant. Hence for each stage I developed an overall data chart with each of these headings and the codes from the transcripts for each centre. If the code from the transcript seemed to fit more than one category I placed it in the chart in all of the categories that it seemed to fit (see Table 6 for the final chart)

Next I looked at a particular category such as role of volunteer across all of the neighbourhood centres and looked for themes and issues in developing provisional categories. I continued this until all of the data had been accounted for by provisional categories. From these provisional categories I wrote a draft of that particular stage using the transcript codes and going back to the transcripts to insert quotes. In reviewing the transcripts again I also found compelling quotes that did not necessarily fit any of the tentative categories so these were saved in another folder for review once the primary data analysis was complete. During coding and

writing I also wrote memos that helped to formulate ideas about the codes and the relationships amongst the categories.

As I began the process again with the next stage there began to emerge an overall organizational framework that helped to frame the data. The framework had to do with issues, activities and roles related to either tasks, processes or relationships. In the analysis stage there was a continuing tentativeness in using the emerging framework, a constant checking to see if the data did fit the framework rather than forcing it to fit the framework. At the conclusion of the analysis of the four stages I developed a tentative chart that organized the data into the framework and felt that it was a good fit. I presented both the summary data and the framework at an advisory committee meeting at which members discussed and confirmed the data analysis and the framework.

To analyze the data from the focus groups I recorded all of the material from each focus group and listened to the interview tape to add in any information that had not been recorded on the flip chart and also to transcribe quotes. Next I pooled all of the focus groups responses from the neighbourhood groups to each of the questions and coded this data. These data were then used to confirm the emerging analysis from the transcripts and also to add more description to the tasks, processes and relationships described in the interviews. This data summary was also fed back to the advisory committee and the individuals who participated in the focus groups. I handled the data from the service provider focus group in the same manner coding it and using it to confirm the emerging analysis from the other two sources. I also wrote about the relationship between service providers and the neighbourhood centres not only from the perspective of the neighbourhood centre but also from the service provider perspective. This

data summary was also fed back to the advisory committee and the individuals who participated in the focus group.

Methodological Issues in Qualitative Inquiry

There are four major ways in which qualitative researchers seek to demonstrate the trustworthiness of their data. These are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I will define each of these in turn and describe the ways in which I seek demonstrate the trustworthiness of the data presented.

Credibility is the extent to which the researcher has represented the multiple realities as credible to the original constructors of those multiple realities. Hence credibility is enhanced by the way in which the inquiry is conducted and also by having the constructors of the multiple realities approve them as credible. Techniques that are used to make it more likely that credible findings and interpretations will be produced are: prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation. Activities that provide an external check on the inquiry process are peer debriefing and member checking. Prolonged engagement is investing sufficient time in the context to: learn the culture, test for misinformation produced by distortions either of self or of the respondents, and building trust (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As I noted in the research context prior to this inquiry I was already established in one neighbourhood centre. After the conclusion of the practicuum I continued to work in the Cambridge community and with Lutherwood on a project developing a socio-demographic profile of Cambridge and its neighbourhoods. This project allowed me to gain a better perspective of the role of neighbourhood organizations in the Cambridge context. I remained in contact with the neighbourhood organizations and began to negotiate possible thesis research with those settings. During the course of

the research I continued to use Southwood as a base and have regularly attended their board meetings. Furthermore, I have toured all of the other sites, attended meetings and functions at the different neighbourhood organizations and held all of the advisory committee meetings at one of the neighbourhood centres. For the last six months of the thesis research I have also been working with neighbourhood organizations in the context of a working group with other agencies in Cambridge. It is noteworthy that I am most familiar with the Cambridge neighbourhood organizations and less so with the one located in Kitchener. Nevertheless such immersion and persistent observation in the settings have provided many opportunities for developing trust and checking distortions.

Another way of establishing the credibility of the data is triangulation, the use of multiple and different sources, methods and investigators. In this inquiry I used different and multiple sources and methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I used interviews as the primary sources of data, and supplemented this with focus groups and to a lesser extent documents. The use of multiple and different sources included interviewing staff at all levels of the hierarchy, (both past and current), board members and volunteers (both past and current).

Another technique for establishing credibility is peer debriefing, a process designed to explore aspects of the inquiry that probes for biases, meanings, interpretations and for testing hypotheses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was done an a regular basis with my advisor and the advisory committee members.

An additional technique that I used to establish credibility was member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). One of the primary tasks of the advisory committee was to provide an ongoing barometer to the nature of the

inquiry, the questions asked, and the people to question. Member checks were more formally done at one meeting specifically designed to feedback results. Member checks were also conducted with the current Director of Community Services and the Program Manager for Community Services.

A second criterion for establishing trustworthiness is transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The transferability of findings to other settings depends on the degree of similarity between the sending and the "receiving" contexts. Hence it is the researcher's responsibility to provide a "thick description" of the context so that other researchers can make judgments about the similarity between this research context and the one they wish to apply it to. Hence the onus rests with the researcher interested in applying the findings to a new context to make a judgment about the similarity between the two settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

A third dimension in establishing the trustworthiness of the data is dependability, the fair and accurate representation of the multiple realities reported. One way in which dependability can be assessed is by an audit that examines the record keeping as a "fair" representation of peoples realities and of the final product, the findings, interpretations and recommendations as supported by the data and internally coherent (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The final means of establishing the trustworthiness of the data is neutrality. The concept of neutrality recognizes the research is value-bound but a characteristic of the data that establishes its trustworthiness is its confirmability. Both dependability and confirmability can be assessed with an audit trail. An audit trail is established by the researcher as a path that someone else could follow in checking the researchers process in collecting the raw data, reducing it into smaller fragments and then recombining it and

synthesizing the themes, relationships and final report. In the data analysis section I reported how the analysis process is amenable to an audit trail.

Caveats

Although it is helpful to understand developmental progression in stages it is important to remember that the assignment of stages is artificial; their boundaries are not distinct; and it is often difficult to sharply delineate between stages (Sarason, 1972). The developmental progression is not always linear, or straightforward rather there is an ebb and flow of moving forward and moving back. Similarly, it is important to note that although certain issues predominate in a particular stage, this does not mean that they are non-existent in other stages, or that issues are always resolved within a particular stage. Instead they spill over into other stages.

One of the concerns in doing a study which spans a number of years is that one is reliant on finding people who can provide historical information and it is also reliant on what people are able to recall. Fortunately, in this study it was not too difficult to find people who could provide an historical information, although it was somewhat difficult for the initiating stage of the first centre which started 15 years ago. In terms of recall, it seemed that people's memories were clearer for events at the beginning and currently; hence the middle, the stabilizing stage was not always particularly salient for people. Another issue in doing research that spans 15 years is an awareness and a sensitivity to not imposing a 1993 perspective on events that occurred in 1978. Many respondents noted how much prevention work has changed over this time period and how in retrospect they would have done some things differently.

Finally it had been my intention to illuminate equally the voices of participants and staff of neighbourhood organizations. However, given the

nature of the project, the longitudinal view of the life of several centres, and an overall perspective on issues, it seemed that staff were generally in a better position to answer such questions. Hence there are more voices of staff than participants in this study.

Table 5 outlines the time periods of the four neighbourhood centres and their respective stages. These timelines are approximate and a result of discussions with advisory committee members and interviewees. In fixing the timelines participants and interviewees used some of the transition markers that are discussed between the stages as transitional elements.

Table 5

Dates in Lifecycle Stages of Neighbourhood Organizations

	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93
INITIATING	HS	HS					GC	GC			SW	SW	CC	CC		
BUILDING		HS	HS	HS	HS	HS			GC	GC	GC	SW	SW	CC	CC	CC
STABILIZING							HS	HS	HS	HS		GC	GC	GC SW	SW	SW
CONSULTING										HS	HS	HS	HS	HS	HS GC	HS GC

HS: Highland Stirling
GC: Greenway Chaplin
SW: Southwood
CC: Christopher Champlain

Findings

Initiating Stage

The five categories that describe the initiating stage are: necessary ingredients, coming together, us & them = we, who's in charge and friend or foe. In addition to these categories are the critical issues and tasks which summarize the initiating stage and launch the neighbourhood organization into the next stage: building.

Necessary ingredients. The category "necessary ingredients" is comprised of two types of ingredients: tools and resources which includes supporters. Tools are the assessment techniques that Lutherwood uses in selecting neighbourhoods and the prevention philosophy that drives the model and work of the neighbourhood organizations. Resources are funding, the presence of a physical structure to house the centre and human resources (Lutherwood, the initiating agency, their staff, and the volunteers of the neighbourhood organization). Supporters are those individuals and systems that exist within the community whose support helps to establish the fledging neighbourhood organization.

1.Tools

Two of the tools that play a prominent role in the initiating stage are the assessment techniques that are used to select neighbourhoods for intervention and the philosophy of the initiating organization. The assessment tools used become increasingly sophisticated with each subsequent centre. In initiating Highland Stirling, Lutherwood piloted the family distress scores that they had developed. This score was a rough composite indicator of the number of cases in court, the number of individuals receiving Family and Children's service and out-patient mental health clinic

services. The family distress scores indicated the Highland Stirling area had a high score on the scale in comparison to other neighbourhoods. However, unlike other neighbourhoods Highland Stirling had not already been identified as an area in need of intervention and in fact a local Lutheran Church could be used as a site for programs. The initial identification of the Highland Stirling area was followed up by an informal needs assessment by the initiating staff. The identification of all of the subsequent neighbourhood centres was done through data collected in Cambridge in Transition in 1988. The Cambridge in Transition project was a joint effort of Lutherwood and Langs Farm (a neighbourhood association in Cambridge not affiliated with Lutherwood). The goal of Cambridge in Transition was to present a socio-demographic profile of Cambridge and its neighbourhoods. This data included census information, key informant interviews and a survey of grassroots organizations operating in Cambridge. The convergence of data from Cambridge in Transition and the use of family distress scores pinpointed a number of other Cambridge neighbourhoods that could benefit from community development activities.

2. Physical resources

In addition to the use of the Cambridge in Transition data, an environmental scan of the respective neighbourhoods was also undertaken to determine when and where to start neighbourhood centres. This scan included a consideration of the resources and supporters within the targeted neighbourhoods. One of the essential resources was a location for the centre. For Highland Stirling this was a three-bedroom apartment in a building centrally located in the neighbourhood. This facility provided staff offices, a clothing room and space for informal drop in. For Greenway Chaplin there was a room in St. Peter's school which could be used as a staff office and a

site for programming. For both Southwood and Christopher Champlain the availability of a townhouse unit in an Ontario Housing complex provided a location within the targeted neighbourhoods for a centre.

3. Human resources

Another essential ingredient in the initiating stage was human resources, both staff and volunteers. Staff bring a blend of skills and expertise from the areas of community development and recreation or their life experience. There is an appreciation for the role of the paraprofessional in neighbourhood organizations although there is an on-going debate of the costs and benefits of this staffing approach. Nevertheless staff are essential to the fledging organization as they manage the day to day operations of the centre and outreach to promote the involvement of volunteers. The extent to which staff have worked in neighbourhood centres and volunteers have been involved in community activities such as organizing play groups determines the speed and confidence with which the group proceeds. Groups that do not have experience with community activities require more direct and intensive support from staff, just to come together before they even tackle a specific task.

An assessment of potential supporters within the respective neighbourhoods included both residents and service providers. One instance of support was the existence of earlier instances of community mobilization. A community worker said:

> there were people that wanted to make a change.. so having met at a resident's house and they tried to organize a neighbourhood watch, but then .. after the meeting windows were vandalized, and so those who participated were discouraged from trying again.

Across all of the centres in their respective initiating stages a critical resource is the energy, commitment and enthusiasm of the volunteers. A volunteer commented:

> **A lot of the things wouldn't have happened if volunteers hadn't put in extra hours. The staff could organize things, they could advertise it, but it really took the volunteers to be out there working and to really promote what was happening.**

Coming together. The interplay of task and process are essential throughout the life cycle of the neighbourhood organization. In the initiating stage the balance between the two is more heavily weighted toward process. Process lays the ground work for all the tasks and the dynamics of working with various other partners that proceed as the organization matures. In the initiating stage tasks are the vehicle for bringing people together and providing an opportunity to work together. Although concern with process predominates in the initiating stage, tasks also provide tangible evidence of the work of the centre and its volunteers. Successfully completed tasks (such as a yard sale, or a mom and tot program) create confidence among volunteers and help to affirm the utility of the centre to the neighbourhood.

Process is important in the initiating stage because it involves the way in which neighbours are drawn together; it helps define how they will work together and how they will work with staff. The process that the neighbourhood centres use is different than other processes that exist in other settings so it sometimes can take longer to develop and for its members to grasp.

In each of the neighbourhoods the process began informally, by knocking on doors, staff introducing themselves and trying to generate interest in the centre. Hence volunteer recruitment is largely informal, initially done by staff and later by volunteers who rely on word of mouth to

spread the news. Volunteers are drawn to the centre for various reasons related to their personal needs, and the nature of the centre. Volunteers often want to meet people or to have some stimulation outside of the home. They are interested in providing needed programs for their children or in improving the neighbourhood. The sense of belonging and acceptance that they experience at the centre solidifies their involvement. Conversely, existing volunteers report that other neighbours don't get involved because they lack information about the centre and what it has to offer, or they feel that involvement in the centre will require too much time and commitment. Neighbours also report that there are financial and language barriers as well as personal constraints, such as feeling as if they don't have anything to offer which keeps people from getting involved. All of the neighbourhood organizations are located in communities that also include members from other distinct cultural groups. The organizations have had to work diligently to make contact within these cultural groups by printing materials in other languages and seeking out other community members who could act as a liaison or bridge between the two groups.

The next step in the process of generating interest is a meeting. This meeting helps to bring people together and provides the staff with an opportunity to begin to describe who Lutherwood is and what they are interested in doing in the neighbourhood. Although the prevention philosophy and the model are a cornerstone in the work with neighbourhoods, they are not necessarily front and centre in the initiating stage. They are not used to recruit members; in fact it is not even explicitly shared at initial meetings. Rather what is shared is less theoretical and more accessible. A former prevention supervisor noted:

> Communities have strengths; communities have leaders; communities just need to have somebody assist them in strengthening themselves as a group, with a place to meet, with resources, with facilitation, with program planning ... I was always careful to do the community development work ... because then we follow that up with really investing power in the volunteers, right away. .. first thing we do is cut a bunch of keys and give them to the leaders, and that's investing in the partnership. And we wouldn't develop a program that parents did not first identify or support, so there would be no imposed programs on residents, and that goes a long way, to authenticate the model.

It is shared in a less formal manner at an orientation meeting or with a core group that later becomes the board. Although the prevention philosophy is not taught in a theoretical manner it is still difficult for volunteers to grasp.

This initial meeting is one intersection of task and process because this is when groups are presented with a tangible task to tackle. This task is often identified based on a need in the community and for all four groups "something for the kids to do has always been the focus". For instance at Southwood and Highland Stirling, it was planning a Christmas party for children and at Greenway Chaplin it was planning a summer playground. The gradual process of getting involved at the neighbourhood centre leads people to take on particular tasks. Initially these tasks are specific and narrow in their scope, provide childcare for a meeting, answer phones, raise money for a particular project. As people grow in their involvement with the organization some begin to take on larger, more long-term responsibilities, such as a committee member to produce the newsletter, to organize the clothing room, or become a board member.

An essential part of the process of volunteers beginning to work together is attending to their comfort level. This is done by making the centre accessible, hospitable, encouraging people to come with their friends and helping to create a comfortable and safe space. Staff play a role in

creating comfort for volunteers by setting and enforcing ground rules around inclusivity, gossiping and confidentiality. Staff also play a critical role in recruiting and encouraging participation. They work toward developing a core group of volunteers which will evolve into a board and various committees. In the initiating stage one begins to see the interrelationship of staff role dependent upon the residents skills and needs. A volunteer commented:

> it seemed so overwhelming at times, and I think that's where staff came in handy again, was to support everyone and the decisions that they made, and show people how things could be done. They seem to break it down into smaller pieces so it didn't seem like such a big job.

For instance sometimes staff teach a skill, facilitate, or model a process, provide guidance, or act as a resource to the group. A former prevention supervisor said.

> you're teaching people the whole process and encouraging them to become involved in their community. So the role is multidimensional, you hardly could separate, if you were teaching, enabling, supporting, refereeing, organizing, networking, collaborating, ... - mediating, negotiating, all those skills were rolled into those first six months.

Whatever the staff do is influenced by the volunteers' needs and interests.

Another of the intersections of task and process is in the dynamics of board meetings. In the initiating stage the board is just beginning to come together; it's membership is diverse in both experience and skill. This suggests that attention needs to be paid to both the process of the board coming together and the tasks that they are undertaking. A volunteer noted:

> I found it really confusing. And probably frustrating at the same time, because I remember another woman and I had belonged to volunteer groups for years and years and years. We were used to taking a project, and doing it ourselves. So that's when the Lutherwood model came in, about how we were going to involve some of the neighbourhood people, and improve some of their skills, and maybe we wouldn't be able to go as fast as we would like, and some of the differences were pointed out at that time, about education levels and skill levels, and that caused some friction there because we were all ready to take the ball and run with it, and it just couldn't happen that fast. ...

One example of this imbalance occurred at Christopher Champlain where the executive positions on the board were quickly filled rather than nurturing existing members and recruiting more members. Hence staff identified that they needed to pull back and talk about what they wanted to accomplish and how they wanted to do it.

Us and them = we (Integration). A number of initial factors that occur at the beginning of a neighbourhood centre set the stage for challenging the integration of various income groups in the work of the centre. (In the Cambridge context this integration is between low and middle-income groups). These factors include the philosophy of the initiating organization, Lutherwood, the provision of space for some neighbourhood centres in Ontario Housing complexes, the process of identifying neighbourhoods sites for centres and the existing community climate of the two income groups toward each other.

Lutherwood's philosophy is specifically geared to establishing neighbourhood centres that are not solely focused on low - income areas of the neighbourhood but invite participation from the whole community. One of the reasons for this stance is to draw on a large base of existing community strengths and skills, enacting the helper principle that every participant can receive help and concurrently contribute to the organization.

Three of the neighbourhood centres are located in Ontario Housing complexes and to varying degrees are set off from the surrounding neighbourhood. For instance at Highland Stirling the neighbourhood was comprised of a fairly homogeneous income group. Similarly, Greenway Chaplin is located in a neighbourhood which is fairly homogenous, where the Ontario Housing Units blend with the surrounding neighbourhood and are

not confined to only one part of the neighbourhood. In contrast the two other neighbourhood centres are much more distinct within their respective neighbourhoods. Often people living within the Ontario Housing complex would talk about this being only a short-term arrangement, one they hoped to escape. A former prevention supervisor noted:

> **- it seems as if they can't ever feel proud of living in Housing, because the whole society holds public housing - as a bad thing. .... that you should be able to do better. And so the people living there internalize that. And it's really sad, because then they tell you bad things about their neighbourhood, because they don't dare tell you something good.**

In the initiating stage these neighbourhoods had a reputation of being "bad places to live", places with high rates of crime, vandalism and with respect to Christopher Champlain, a drug haven. Both people living in the complexes and the surrounding neighbourhood reported that they were afraid of what was happening in the complexes. Those living in the complex reported fear, isolation, and frustration at being "painted with the same brush" as the drug dealers and users.

A volunteer recalled:

> **I remember when I first started I was so desolate. I was shut in, like I never had friends here, I didn't even meet my backyard neighbour, 'til, last summer.**

However, in the four neighbourhoods where centres are located there is a differing degree of problem visibility. For instance when Highland Stirling neighbourhood centre began in 1978 the neighbourhood had not been previously identified as an area that could benefit from community development activities rather it was a neighbourhood with under-utilized facilities. The second neighbourhood centre existed in a neighbourhood identified by a high family distress score but also one not so much with high-profile, visible problems but rather barriers such as transportation or cost,

that prevented residents from engaging in community-based activities. In contrast the two most recently initiated neighbourhood centres are located in Ontario Housing complexes that are stigmatized by the surrounding neighbourhood. They are viewed negatively and more visible problems of crime, vandalism, and drug dealing have helped to perpetuate the stigma.

The process of identifying neighbourhoods for prospective centres may continue to draw attention to the negative image of the neighbourhood. In the initiating stage at Highland Stirling a newspaper article talked about a prevention project in the area, that was "not a nice area". People on the board of the neighbourhood organization perceived the article as meaning that they were "not really well", "a problem " and that Lutherwood was there to help. A former co-ordinator commented:

> **Neighbourhood residents interpreted the prevention word as Lutherwood defining it as a needy area and people really resented that.**

Furthermore, the location of the first neighbourhood centre was determined by the use of a family distress score. This indicator served to highlight individuals already in receipt of some type of service rather than on early intervention and prevention activities, and focused exclusively on individuals deficits rather than their capacities and strengths.

Even prior to the initiation of the two most recent community centres there has been a climate prevalent within the two neighbourhood centres that serves to separate the lower- and more middle-income groups. Those living in the housing complex are viewed with fear because of the highly visible problems that are evident there. Conversely, the residents from Ontario Housing view those who live outside as "judgmental snobs".

Hence, a number of pre-existing issues and tensions create a climate in which it is challenging for Lutherwood to integrate the two income groups.

The issue of integration is played out in the initiating stage particularly in the way in which volunteers worked together. Initially the neighbourhood centres try to draw members who live in the immediate area (often from within the housing complex). The experiences of Southwood serve to illustrate the integration tension in the initiating stage. The first phase of membership included solely residents from within the housing complex. For this particular group of residents there were limited organizational skills and literacy levels. These were exacerbated by a high degree of mistrust and dissension within the group. In an effort to broaden representation from the neighbourhood and to provide members with an opportunity to learn new skills, members from the surrounding community were recruited. This particular group of residents, from the surrounding community were highly skilled and generally well educated. They were accustomed to working in church or non-profit groups and working independently. They experienced a profound "culture shock" upon arriving at the housing complex. A former prevention supervisor commented:

> .. when we got involved with more economically secure, middle class families, they had no experience with Housing residents, so it was culture shock. Traditionally these families don't come into Public Housing, and they don't understand the process, so there was distrust now between the two groups that we were trying to make one group of.

A volunteer noted:

> To tell the truth, it was frustrating. The group from outside seemed to be the ones who were used to setting a date for a meeting, setting the time, and showing up...And the people from inside the village, always didn't seem to run on the same schedule that we did, like something would come up that they wouldn't be able to attend the meeting, or they didn't get up in time, or their kids were sick, and that was frustrating because we weren't used to having that happen And that's when we sort of got more of the Lutherwood model, of some of the reasons why those things were happening, and how we could be a bit more understanding...

The two groups had very little in common, everything was different, each group had a different perception of what had to be done, how to work together in terms of setting meetings, the degree of formality and how to reach consensus. A former prevention supervisor noted:

> And as we got more people involved in the building process, it went to the other extreme, where people who were educated became quite formal, they wanted to print agendas and write minutes, and the other people weren't ready for that; we had people who couldn't read... pieces of paper with agendas threaten people who couldn't read. And the discussions went like an agency meeting, .. So then we had to tell that group that it was too formal, that we had to create a more participatory process.

Efforts to blend the contributions of the two groups led to many clashes as less skilled and articulate volunteers felt threatened and unable to sway the group.

Conversely more skilled and articulate volunteers felt held back because they were ready to do more. The final phase of the volunteer membership in the initiating stage occurred with the arrival of some volunteers from outside of the neighbourhood who could serve as a bridge between the two more diverse groups. These members were able to acknowledge the stresses of the lower-income group and be accepting and non-judgmental. A former prevention supervisor recalled:

> Leadership was a challenge in the beginning- you either had very economically secure, well educated people, and very very poor people. And very few people bridging that. Gosh, it was hard, so you had a person with post-graduate education trying to work with a lady with grade 5 education, as co-leaders of programs. When the new person joined, she bridged that huge difference. That was very very healthy, in that she brought a perspective which understood both of these extremes.

One of the critical aspects in mediating the tensions that arise from integration is the leadership of the board. The extent to which leaders understand and endorse the integrated model presented by Lutherwood, the greater their success in managing the tensions of integration. Hence, the

more recent centre, Christopher Champlain recruited board members and the chairperson of the board by ensuring their sensitivity to the issue of integration and the importance of a non-judgmental stance.

Highland Stirling was located in a more homogeneous neighbourhood in terms of income. In drawing in residents to become involved in a fledging centre staff tapped into an already existing friendship network. Hence the struggle became how to involve people from outside the friendship network. This involved building awareness of what the group wanted to do and what skills and resources they could use to reach those goals regardless of whether the people with those skills and resources were friends.

Who's in charge. The category "who's in charge" captures the extent of community input in the selection of the neighbourhood as a site for a new neighbourhood centre, the extent to which the community shapes the philosophy of the centre, and the dimension of power and control in the relationship with Lutherwood and its staff.

The kind and type of community input into the selection of a site for a new community centre changed significantly over the years. For instance the choice of Highland Stirling was essentially made by the staff of Lutherwood guided by the family distress scores. Outreach and door knocking preceded even a physical site in the neighbourhood. In retrospect staff said it would have been better to hold a community meeting in a school to determine interest and acceptance prior to the establishment of a physical site in the neighbourhood. When funding proposals were written for increasing staffing this too was staff driven. A former director noted:

> With hindsight, I must admit that I did not involve the people in Highland Stirling as much in the proposal writing and the whole process of developing the proposal as I would have done five or ten years later. At that time this grant seemed to be very much our need, Lutherwood's need, and not the

> neighbourhood's need, and it didn't seem right, and as I say, I'm not quite sure how I would do it now, because things have changed now, it's not the same anymore. But we didn't, we informed them about it, what the grant would mean, that there would be an evaluation component, and so on. But we did not ask for formal permission, nor did we ask for formal participation in the proposal writing.

At Greenway Chaplin the preliminary selection of the site was made by Lutherwood through the use of the family distress scores. This was followed by a meeting with the City and informal leaders from Greenway Chaplin neighbourhood. Next Lutherwood sponsored a meeting in a local school to determine interest and support for a summer playground. Community input continues to increase as the years pass as is evident in the selection of the Southwood community. Lutherwood staff began by approaching the community about a family resource centre in downtown Cambridge. However, other service providers in the city encouraged them to duplicate their success at Greenway Chaplin and start a neighbourhood centre at Southwood. Although members from the Southwood community were not involved in this forum, members from Greenway Chaplin and Langs Farm were.

Both the nature and the scope of community input changes in the selection of the most recent centre, Christopher Champlain. Lutherwood was approached by the South Waterloo Housing Authority to start a neighbourhood centre at Christopher Champlain. However, Lutherwood opted to form an advisory committee that would give direction to and sanction the development of a neighbourhood centre at that site. This was in part to draw in expertise about anti-drug issues and also because of a growing appreciation of a systems approach to community development in the neighbourhood. Despite the fact that members of the advisory committee had differing levels of need and resources, there was a willingness to get involved

and they all worked well together. Hence, community input is broadened from the professional community but not from the broader community. Nevertheless it is clear that the Christopher Champlain community is receptive to having a neighbourhood centre as a tangible way to address the drug problems in the neighbourhood.

Another area in which the issue of "who's in charge" is evident is in the prevention philosophy that guides each of the neighbourhood centres. This philosophy is presented by the Lutherwood staff and the respective neighbourhood organizations are encouraged to support it. It is not suggested or shaped by residents; rather Lutherwood is presenting a process or a model for making changes in the neighbourhood.

The issues of how many staff and what type of training they have also create a perception of who is in control. The compliment of staffing across the four centres in the initiating stage varies considerably. At Highland Stirling there was one staff, the only staff at Lutherwood's newly formed community services department. In the beginning she worked with an MSW student. Later on in the initiating stage there were four staff as part of an evaluation of the project. In contrast both Greenway Chaplin and Southwood started with one staff person, sometimes augmented by a staff person working on a short-term government grant. The most recently initiated centre, Christopher Champlain was started by two trained Lutherwood staff, a community development worker and a recreation worker. The presence of two staff in a fledging centre help to provide support and alleviate stress. However, anymore than two staff can make the centre seem too staff-centred, or professional. For instance shortly after Highland Stirling started there were four staff which was seen as professionalizing the centre. It is not only

the number of staff present in the initiating stage which appears to make a difference but also their skill and aptitude. A volunteer observed:

> you have to be really flexible, I think, you have to have a really strong values, but keep an open mind, because one thing I'll say about the community centre, they have never pre-judged anybody, or turned anybody away.

Many respondents noted that it is also important that staff are trained with a community versus a clinical or individual focus. They must be comfortable as facilitators rather than doers.

Another area in which the theme who's in charge is evident is in the emerging relationship between volunteers and the respective staff of each centre and between board members and Lutherwood. The role of staff in the neighbourhood organizations is multi - dimensional and evolving through all the stages of development. In the initiating stage staff are most active in the nitty gritty operation of the centre and in mobilizing the volunteers. One aspect of their role involves making tangible Lutherwood's philosophy in each of the neighbourhood centres. Hence, one aspect of their role that often begs the question "who's in charge" is whether staff are facilitators or doers. Initially there may be an expectation that staff are there to do things for the residents. Actually staff are doers of a number of tasks but with a goal of teaching and supporting volunteers in doing tasks. However, volunteers often want the staff to give explicit directions. Meanwhile staff see their role as giving input and support while volunteers actually make decisions and do the specific tasks. Staff move along a continuum of doers and facilitators which is dependent upon the skills and needs of the volunteers.

A former director commented:

> It's difficult to think or talk about roles as a defined entity, but rather the roles were shaped and evolved through this constant interaction and learning from one another. It was really a mutual evolution.

An extension of the doers versus facilitators that volunteers experience with staff is the learning of boundaries, responsibilities and roles with respect to Lutherwood. Hence, in the initiating stage each party is just learning about each other and about working together.

Friend or foe. The category captures the ambivalence that characterizes the forging of relationships in the initiating stage. Each centre builds relationships with its immediate neighbours, Lutherwood, the staff of the centre, and the surrounding community of service providers. In the initiating stage the task in approaching and developing these relationships is weighing and determining whether the other party is a friend or foe. In all of the neighbourhood centres there is an initial wariness or suspicion about the arrival of the Centre. Across all of the centres, residents expressed concern that the centre, its staff and volunteers were spies for the Housing Authority or the Children's Aid Society. They were suspicious that the centre was just another program provided by agencies and that it wouldn't do any good. A former prevention supervisor noted:

> Labelling hurts everyone, and it was really hard to reduce the distrust. People in that neighbourhood said nothing could ever help. The police were not helping us , they were just seeing (it) as a really bad place. None of your work's going to be any good they'd say to us. And people were frightened of the label, because the press had really done horrible things. Social service agencies were telling you things like they can only go in there three at a time, it's that bad.

Residents also didn't know what the centre was all about, nor how it worked. Some residents who may have had a bad experience with agencies or schools in the past felt reluctant to go to the centre because they perceived it to be another agency with staff. However, some residents greeted the arrival of the neighbourhood centre warmly . This was particularly the case at Christopher Champlain where a highly visible drug problem had stigmatized the

neighbourhood and a group of residents were ready to take action. Hence the neighbourhood centre was seen as a welcome ally.

Beyond the immediate neighbourhood to the surrounding neighbourhood most of the neighbours viewed the centre with wariness, or indifference. Wariness because they were scared and intimidated by the neighbourhood and its reputation. Indifference because they thought the centre was only there for the people who lived in the immediate neighbourhood (the Public Housing complex). As staff begin to do outreach, volunteers get involved, and successful programs are operated out of the centre, trust begins to develop and the initial wariness and suspicion dissipates.

The reception from service providers seems to change with each subsequent neighbourhood centre that starts. For instance, the building of linkages with service agencies in Highland Stirling neighbourhood prompted service providers to focus on only the needs of the residents in the neighbourhood and in providing services to meet those needs. At Greenway Chaplin residents experienced a need to educate local service providers. They faced concerns on the part of principals that they were infringing on their turf. However, at Southwood residents experienced support and skepticism. South Waterloo Housing continued to be supportive as they had with other centres and local schools were also supportive. However, police in the community at that time, while not unsupportive, expressed skepticism about the likelihood of success in their endeavours. Christopher Champlain, the most recently initiated neighbourhood centre, used an advisory committee to plan for the funding and operation of the centre prior to its inception. Hence Christopher Champlain experienced positive and supportive relationships with the community of service providers that surround the centre. Not only

did the advisory committee bring in partners who had never worked together before but the committee continued to meet through the initiating stage to advise and monitor the neighbourhood organization with regard to the anti - drug secretariat milestones.

For the most part Lutherwood has chosen to stay in the background of the neighbourhood centres. It has downplayed its role as a children's mental health agency. Therefore, residents in the neighbourhood centre are often unaware of Lutherwood's role, unclear about who or what Lutherwood is. They see Lutherwood as vague and remote. Residents in the first centre initiated expressed confusion over why Lutherwood was working in neighbourhoods. Although Lutherwood expressed an interest in prevention, residents were still wary of the budding relationship. For some neighbourhood residents who have had a child in treatment at Lutherwood their perception was determined by that experience, either good or bad. As residents become more involved in the operation of the organization, especially as board members Lutherwood is seen as a place where money comes from; they are trusted to find money, but the mechanics of funding are vague.

Hence Lutherwood is viewed as a benevolent patron. As in any fledging relationship there is a process of learning the boundaries, learning how to respond to suggestions which is sometimes stressful but also healthy. A volunteer said:

> At times it was really good, but then other times it was stressful, because you were just learning the boundaries. We had to learn that we were not Lutherwood. And that just because Lutherwood said that this or that should be done, that we had to really discuss it ourselves, to find out if it was really what was needed in our area, and if we wanted to do that. So there was that initial stage of learning to live together.

In many ways the evolving relationship with staff parallels the evolving relationship between the centre and the neighbourhood. Initially staff are viewed with mistrust, discomfort, low credibility and a lack of respect. A former prevention supervisor remembered:

> **I think the people in the housing complex were very distrustful of anybody who wanted to do something for them. Their experience was that nobody was trustworthy. I think trust with me personally developed really quickly because I was able to deflect the ho' .ility, like not take it personally, and just keep talking to people about their feelings, and why they were feeling like that, and listen to their stories, and validate those stories.**

On the other hand staff going into neighbourhoods experience the wariness and the appraisal process. They experience the judgment that everyone is making of them and the weight of the expectation that they are going "to fix" everything in the neighbourhood. However, as staff develop relationships, develop trust with themselves by listening and validating, they come to be perceived as trustworthy and credible. They earn respect as they strive to make people comfortable, establish group rules and use processes that are democratic and respectful. For instance, in working with the fledging group staff use a process that represents the facts, lets everyone speak and helps the group to make decisions. To the extent that staff provide tangible support, assisting in crises, and linking residents to resources, they are seen as friends and allies.

Critical issues. The critical issues in the initiating stage coalesce around three areas: learning to work together, developing relationships and networks and staffing. And each of these issues are more critical for one centre than another. At Christopher Champlain the critical issues centre on helping the group learn to use the process, to blend personalities and to keep the group moving at one pace, rather than moving too quickly ahead. Learning to work together is also a critical issue at Southwood, one that is

more focused on helping the two income groups to work together. At Greenway the critical issue focuses around setting rules and guidelines as a way of helping people to work together (e.g. agreeing to record decisions made at meetings). Furthermore, at Greenway the critical issue of learning to work together is expanded to developing relationships and the networks beyond the immediate neighbourhood. Another critical issue at Southwood focused around staff resources being spread too thin and a concern that Lutherwood was expanding too quickly. A former prevention supervisor recalled:

> In the first year at Southwood it was definitely my role being spread too thin. And even before the group could get - could feel strong, we were starting Champlain. So now there was three groups in Cambridge, each at a different stage, with one coordinator, and one community worker in each place. that was very hard. .. initiating and building required the full attention of a trained community developer... it has to be somebody who understands the philosophy as well as the process, and who can combine those two things through use of self. That's how you integrate the work.

Transition from initiating to building. In the initiating stage the critical tasks involve securing resources, space, staff and funding and in letting the community know what the centre is. The transition from initiating to building is marked by the existence of a core group of volunteers that begin to form themselves into committees to work on particular areas or programs.

Summary and comparison of initiating stage. Earlier in the paper there was a discussion of approaches to organizational change which reviewed models from organizational development, community psychology and community development. While all of the models share similarities with each other and the life cycle model of neighbourhood organizations developed in this study, they all have different goals or missions. These goals range

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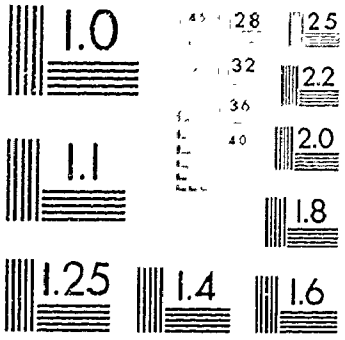

from promoting business interests and improving the bottom line, to providing more effective social services, resolving issues through a coalition, to primary prevention and building social skills. Nevertheless at the conclusion of the results section of each stage I shall synthesize the findings from these approaches with the data collected from this study.

The first stage in the organizational model developed by Quinn and Cameron (1983) is called the "entrepreneurial stage". They describe this stage as involving a lot of energy and activity focused on finding a market niche, marshaling resources and building external support. These activities also characterize the initiating stage of neighbourhood organizations in which there is a great deal of energy and activity focused on gathering resources, meeting community needs (a market niche) and building external support. While Quinn and Cameron also identify the "entrepreneurial stage" as one in which a "prime mover" emerges, this is not consistent with the data on the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations. While indigenous leadership does emerge in neighbourhood organizations it is not of such high profile or critical importance as is the "prime mover".

Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Read (1987) draw on the community psychology literature in discussing the initial stages ("before the beginning" and "first ideas") of development in alternative organizations. This study did not uncover a great deal of data about the initial thinking and planning that pre-dated the development of a Community Services Department, the "before the beginning" or "first ideas" stages. The staff interviewed did not describe the degree of formal planning suggested in the models of Sarason(1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Read(1987). Rather there was an identified need and interest in doing prevention which prompted a loose conceptualization of an intervention. Bartunek and

Betters-Read(1987) describe the relationships between the originator, the planners and the external groups. However, interviewees in this study described the evolution of the Lutherwood model as involving very few people and no one external to the agency.

Blum and Ragab (1985) used a community development framework to describe a model of coalition development. Although the goals of the organization they outlined are different from the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations the critical issues and processes are similar. In the "generational" as in the "initiating stage" there is a need to recruit and build an organizational base comprised of volunteers and to establish relationships with constituents. There is a shared emphasis on an empowerment ideology, participatory democracy and the importance of a sponsoring agency. However, the coalition model's assessment is focused on gathering facts and analysis about a "winnable issue" and approaching the sponsoring agency, while the Lutherwood model is focused on assessment of risk, a scan of resources and approaching residents.

Building Stage

Getting to work. The category "getting to work" captures the organizational framework within which the neighbourhood organization will work. In the building stage it describes the developing infrastructure, the board and the various committees. It also captures the various programs and activities that the centre offers to the community and the way in which this creates a bridge between the neighbourhood centre and the surrounding community. There is a high degree of commonalty across all four centres in the building stage in terms of the types of activities offered and the organizational structure developed.

1.Activities

All of the four centres continued to focus on the issues that were identified in the initiating stage, particularly on meeting the needs of children. For instance at Christopher Champlain the focus was on street proofing kids and promoting drug awareness. At this point some centres did an informal needs assessment to help set program direction. In the building stage checking back with the community doesn't always happen to the extent that it could, (e.g. putting other agencies programs into the centres and hoping that they will work). Fortunately, participants respond fairly quickly to the favourability of programs at the centre, which provides a quick gauge as to their suitability. At Southwood there was a great deal of interest across the neighbourhood for the establishment of a pre-school program. Although the primary focus was on children there are some programs for adults, typically an informal get together , such as "Neighbours Together" or "Take a Break". A community worker noted:

> I don't think the focus of the group has changed but I think the confidence of the group has changed.. I think they experienced some success and they're starting to celebrate those, and ... looking at other ways that they can meet community needs.

2. Structures

In the building stage there is the development of a more formal structure to assist in the work of the organization and in refining the role of volunteers. Staff play a critical role in the establishment of the infrastructure. They recruit members and provide ongoing guidance and training to volunteers in the management of board and committee responsibilities. In the first centre staff often experienced difficulties in getting volunteers to take roles. Initially volunteers felt that they didn't have anything to contribute or they felt because they had never done it before they would be unable to do it. However, once people took on tasks and felt good about what they were able to do they didn't want to share it with others. They wanted to do it all. Hence the dual dynamic between existing volunteers and new volunteers was one where an existing volunteer didn't want to let some of their role go and incoming volunteers didn't think that they could do it anyway. So staff had to balance guiding without controlling volunteers.

All of the centres provide very tangible support to volunteers to support their involvement, especially in providing childcare during meetings or programs. The staff's role in the building stage also encompasses increasing the visibility of the centre and finding things that attract volunteers to the centre. It is in the building stage that the interested core of volunteers that emerged in the initiating stage usually develop into a board. These boards are traditional in their composition including a chair, a vice-chair, secretary and treasurer. In addition to the development of a board

which directs and makes decisions about the organization there is also the development of a committee structure. Committees are very task specific and develop out of the initial interests of the group. Hence, there is a program committee that helps decide on what programs the centre will offer and actually guides the implementation of the programs. Since most, if not all, of the programs in the building stage are run by leaders who are paid honoraria. It is common for the same volunteers who sit on the program committee to actually run the program and for one of them to sit on the board. Hence in the building stage there is a lot of overlap of volunteers within this organizational structure. The development of a committee is very much driven by the interests and needs of each centre. Hence some centres have a clothing committee to look after the clothing room, or a newsletter committee to produce the newsletter. The building stage is characterized by an increasing number of programs and committees. Ideally volunteers will move through the infrastructure first as a participant, then as a committee member next as a board member then as a member of the board executive. A former staff commented:

> from the initial step of getting somebody in the door to have a cup of coffee, to getting them to lead a program. To watch it happen is exciting, but it's also very frustrating, because there's the stumbling all along the way. ...once you can look back on it, you go, wow, that was so neat.

However, given the high turnover of volunteers there is not always a clear progression from participant to board member. For instance some volunteers feel much more comfortable at the committee level and are reluctant to join the board. Sometimes this reluctance has do to the image that "board member" conjures up for members, a degree of formality and expertise that they don't feel comfortable with. Furthermore, there tends to be so few

members interested in being board members or taking executive positions that nominations and voting are more of a formality than a competition.

The infrastructure of the neighbourhood association includes not only the development of a board of directors and committees but sometimes more formal aspects such as an annual meeting format. Greenway Chaplin uses the annual meeting format to invite the community to the centre and share what it has done. Another more formal aspect of the organization is evaluation . Highland Stirling conducted an evaluation in its building stage as part of grant requirements.

Another aspect of the structure of the neighbourhood organization in the building stage and subsequent stages is securing grants to help fund the expanding program base. These grants bring an increasing number of staff into the neighbourhood organization on an interim basis. Grants may also provide funding for a secretary, a recreation worker, or a pre-school teacher on a part-time basis to enhance the expanding program offerings. In addition to short - term grant personnel there is also the introduction of students on placement. These may be students from the local high school who provide childcare, or students from the local universities who help with a specific task, facilitating a "take a break group", conducting a youth survey, or a needs assessment.

The activities and programs of the centre serve to engage the surrounding community. The increased contact and visibility through staff and volunteers with the surrounding community help to draw the community into the centre. Furthermore, to extent that the programs and activities of the centre respond to the needs of the neighbourhood there is a gradual acceptance and support of the centre. With increasing contact and dialogue the centre is perceived as a safe place. The wariness and suspicion that

characterized the initiating stage generally gives way to cautious acceptance and curiosity in the building stage. While there is still some experience of stigma and psychological barriers between the centre and the surrounding neighbourhood now the previously held stereotypes can be talked about. For instance stereotypes that everyone in public housing uses drugs or alcohol, or that poor people are messy housekeepers are openly challenged. They are not taken for granted, but challenged by the experience of having contact with the centre and people who live in the Ontario Housing complexes. Furthermore, the provision of needed programs and favourable program evaluations help to decrease the distance between the centre and the surrounding neighbourhood. The fee structure for programs is a critical part of making programs affordable and hence accessible. The fees charged generally don't cover the program costs incurred by the centre. Subsidies are available in a way that invites participants to take advantage of them rather than feel stigmatized by them. At Highland Stirling where there was not an issue of being stigmatized by the surrounding neighbourhood, the establishment of a neighbourhood centre was cemented because it offered affordable and accessible programs that were sought by the community.

Learning the ropes. The category "learning the ropes" captures the process aspect of what volunteers learn as they become involved in the management of the centre. It captures the changes not only in their role, but the stresses they experience with increased involvement with the centre. It also captures the staff's role as teacher and coach.

As volunteers move into the emerging infrastructure of the board and committees they take on a larger, more defined role with increasing responsibility. Therefore, volunteers are not just doing time-limited and specific tasks such as answering the phones, but they are becoming involved

in all aspects of the centre, making a longer term commitment to maintaining the viability of the organization by being board members or program leaders. This increased role requires that board members continue to learn both tasks and process. They learn how to organize an agenda, run a meeting, complete specific tasks related to the operations of programs, such as registration, hiring program leaders and managing finances.

They also grow in their understanding of the prevention philosophy and the Lutherwood model. It becomes the responsibility of the existing volunteers to ensure that the philosophy of the neighbourhood organization is passed on to subsequent members who join. This is not generally done in a formal way but rather is incumbent leaders orient new leaders. There is concern that the prevention philosophy gets lost or obscured because the people passing it on don't have as strong a sense of it as the original group of volunteers. Hence some volunteers have suggested an orientation package for new volunteers because they could sit in on meetings for a whole year and still not know about everything that's going on. As each centre progresses through the stages, it is incumbent on the leaders of the organization to pass on the philosophy to newer members. Ideally it evolves to the point where you don't talk about it anymore but you just live it. However, no formal mechanism exists for the transmission of the philosophy and ones which could be created would have to be sensitive to various levels of literacy.

In the building stage volunteers have developed a better understanding of the neighbourhood context which is essential for developing programs and inviting membership. However, staff still provide information and education in specific issues that are a concern for the neighbourhood. For instance they would have a better understanding of the issues of specific families, or who might attend particular programs and how much they could

pay. In the building stage, decision - making becomes more specific. Committees make decisions related to their respective programs and projects, (which nights, which programs, who would be the leader) while the board makes decisions relating to the organization as a whole and continues to respond to requests from external agencies. For instance the board would discuss the organizations involvement with the strategic planning exercise at the local school, or the impact of joining with another group to have a breakfast club at the centre. This division of decision-making between board and committees begins in the building stage and continues throughout the other stages. In the building stage volunteers learn to manage the internal aspects of the centre but are sometimes overwhelmed by the volume of requests from external agencies for participation in their activities such as planning processes. It is important to note that decision - making and all of the work of the board at the building stage is focused on the "here and now". There is little systematic reflection on the work of the organization and planning for the future. The exception to this is the annual goal setting process that is in place at Greenway Chaplin. Generally the only planning that centres do is determining future programs which is done by the program committee.

In summary, in the building stage the board and committee members learn as they go, taking on more responsibility as they grow. The building stage continues to provide opportunities to learn and grow, and helps to establish board members more comfortably in their new roles. Volunteers involved in the building stage reported experiencing a lot of personal growth and satisfaction with their involvement. They felt important and appreciated, knowing that others value their contributions. One of the

strengths of all of the centres at this stage is the sense of ownership, energy and commitment of its volunteers.

With the increasing scope of responsibilities and activities of the centre volunteers experience both excitement and stress. Although stress is a reality for volunteers throughout all of the stages it begins to be manifest in this stage as some volunteers take on more tasks than they can manage. A volunteer said:

> I think the main thing would be that you're careful not to take on too much. And we, as a board, we try and keep an eye on that kind of thing. And if we see a person volunteering for countless number of things, and we'll say, are you sure you can do this ..(We) tell the people that, it's better to give a hundred percent to this committee than ten percent to two or three. And then they make a choice - it's not saying, no you can't do this, can't do that, it's trying to get them to realize their own limits, their own capabilities.

Volunteers also become frustrated, over-extended and burned out. A former prevention supervisor recalled:

> And burn out, people feeling, oh my God, I'm so stupid, I'm illiterate, I can't do it, I'm getting really confused,- sometimes going home and crying that they can't manage it. At Southwood these feelings were exacerbated because the more educated people knew how to do everything so well. ..The frustration for this group, was that they wanted to go so fast, and felt held back. One individual would come in and really blow up, and she'd say this Lutherwood model really stinks. You're holding us back because of a bunch of people who won't help themselves. ... Other people got worried and burnt out because they .. felt that we should start with a lot of counseling and parenting, to improve people. Some got worried because we weren't counselling and parenting, we were providing social support,...the stress was caused by the process, by the philosophy, by our stand on integration which were all part of our values.

There is also the dilemma of knowing that the organization could do more with a larger volunteer base but also the reality of doing so much and not having the time to recruit a larger volunteer base. Another area of stress for volunteers is the turn-over in volunteers, especially of those in leadership positions. In the building stage most members are new to the process and

they are just learning their roles. Hence, it is difficult to find other volunteers who can help to do parts of key volunteer roles if the chairperson, or treasurer are unavailable. This too creates stress for volunteers in those positions since they know that they are the only ones in the organization at that time who can do some of those necessary tasks. Staff have noted the need to monitor their tendency to over-commit certain volunteers. Furthermore, there are not a lot of experienced volunteers who can take on executive positions should they be vacated. Hence there was consensus amongst respondents that it becomes critical that the organization always be engaged in recruiting and nurturing multiple leaders as well as the talents and skills of its members so that there are members ready to take on more responsibility.

It is important to note that volunteer turn-over is not always a direct result of involvement in the centre. Rather volunteers experience many stresses in their lives, personal crises and conflicting demands that make it difficult to make a consistent, long-term commitment to the work of the centre. As a former prevention supervisor noted:

> ... in these neighbourhoods half the volunteers are one step away from crisis at all time, that's just life... Daily people come in,..they miss a meeting because they were at the crisis shelter. Or they miss a meeting because they got thrown out of their house. Living with crisis is a big part of life, of some of the families in the neighbourhood.

A former co-ordinator commented:

> .. - their own personal lives come first, of course, and it's really hard to get them to see that by being part of a committee or a board, more people together can really voice things and show what their needs are, and work better as a group. It was overall frustration just getting up in the morning and continuing on through the day, and wondering if your rent's going to be paid, never mind worrying about what's going to happen in the neighbourhood.

The personal crises of volunteers also affect staff. The close relationship and the genuine caring that staff experience make it stressful for them to see families with complex problems in crisis.

However, volunteer turnover is often seen as a positive phenomenon because many volunteers through their experiences at the organization decide to return to school, or they get a job. Nevertheless, the turnover of volunteers does create stress in the fledging centre.

Staff are critical in the building stage as they move from doing all the nitty gritty operations of the centre and its programs to teaching and coaching volunteers to begin to take over an increasing amount of the operation of the organization and its programs. Staff do this by helping to establish the infrastructure, the board and the committees and by teaching volunteers to work within it. A community worker said:

> we're still sitting down with the chairperson of each committee and doing the agendas together, and deciding who's going to talk about what issue, and who's going to take the minutes. Staff are still supporting volunteers, we're going through that whole process of showing them how to do it, chairing the meeting, and making sure we stay on track, .. Sometimes it's really good, and they do it great, .. and then sometimes staff need to really be there.

Staff teach and coach volunteers in both the tasks that constitute the running of the organization and the processes whereby the tasks are completed. In this regard their role is an extension of the groundwork laid in the initiating stage although the tasks are more complex and staff not only model the processes but coach volunteers as they use the processes. Hence, staff teach volunteers how to run a meeting, get permits for facilities and organize finances. Concurrently staff help to bring the group together, problem solve and encourage the volunteers but also let them do the particular tasks with as much support as each individual volunteer requires. So staff are helping

volunteers to meet their own needs for self-esteem and social competency but also the needs of the centre. As in the initiating stage, staff continue to maintain the primary contact with external groups. It is noteworthy that there are the same kinds of staff roles across all of the neighbourhood centres and perhaps there should be some consideration of whether neighbourhood organizations could benefit from a different sort of staff role, for instance a family support worker rather than a recreation/ youth worker. To summarize staff roles a former prevention supervisor noted:

> **You focus on four roles, facilitating group development, applying adult education as you teach roles, you practice personal support with individual people to strengthen them, and you do a lot of participatory community planning.**

Integration: We versus me. The issue of integration within the building stage takes place in the ways that volunteers work together, especially at the board level. For all centres, members struggle with how to work together, deciding who's in charge and developing their respective talents. While in the initiating stage this tension existed between the members of the housing complex and members from the surrounding neighbourhood, in the building stage this tension is more evident within the core working group and is more personalized as individual members struggle between directions and decisions that meet their own personal interests but perhaps not the interests of the integrated group. (Needless to say these issues are particular to neighbourhood centres located in public housing complexes). For both Christopher Champlain and Southwood the issue becomes more complex as the group continues to struggle with the integration of members from within the Ontario housing complexes (lower-income members) and members from the surrounding neighbourhood

(middle-income members). At Christopher Champlain there was a tendency for the more middle-income members to want to push ahead, often leaving less skilled members in the background. Hence lower-income members felt intimidated and needed more support in building their confidence to take a more vocal role. At Southwood there was a similar dynamic with lower-income members feeling intimidated, less skilled and less articulate, while middle-income members forged ahead focusing on programs that would benefit them directly. At Southwood while the group was struggling to become cohesive, this gap widened to a chasm. A staff observed:

> **I think maybe some of the lower-income group felt that they had no power against them, that they were very skilled, articulate women, and in fact they were, and that they were just galloping ahead of them.**

There was an increasing lack of appreciation from the middle-income group for the barriers and stresses that lower-income families face. This was particularly evident in planning for a pre-school program at Southwood. The kind of program that middle-income members wanted carried a particular price tag which dictated certain program fees. Meanwhile this program fee would make the program inaccessible to the families who needed it most. Similarly, subsidies were available for all of the centre's programs and the introduction of a pre-school program generated discussion about how many spaces should be set aside for children living in subsidized housing. This lack of appreciation of the issues facing lower-income members was also evident at some board meetings where middle-income members would refer to families living at the Ontario housing complex as "those people" with members from housing complexes sitting around the table. This issue came to a head at a particular board meeting in which the Director of Community Services facilitated a discussion of the discrepancy between the behaviour of the board members and the stated purpose of the centre being located in

Ontario Housing. It was a time to set priorities and for Lutherwood to be clear about why it was in the Ontario housing complex and the importance of an integrated approach. This challenged board members to examine the discrepancy, to do some soul searching in confronting their biases. A staff recalled:

> So we started doing some heavy duty soul searching, and I think some of the people then elected to leave at that time. Quite frankly, (they) weren't willing to confront their own biases.

Needless to say this created an exodus of members from the board. A community worker commented:

> Most of those people, that resigned either, because they weren't willing to deal with this, or resigned because they felt embarrassed or intimidated by the conflict.

While some former members continue to have their children participate, they themselves have not returned to the board. A staff noted:

> I wondered if Southwood was going to crumble at my feet... I said the treasurer had resigned. And that was a fairly crucial role.

Clearly this integration issue runs deep and creates challenges for neighbourhood organizations.

Greenway faced a similar issue with subsidies and the conflict between lower and middle-income members. A former staff commented:

> The subsidized programs... you have to have x number of spaces for those kids whose parents just simply cannot afford to put any money into a program, or maybe chose not to put any money into paying for their child to go to pre-school. ...That really divided the group up, it was the haves and have nots almost, and there was a certain group that was saying, ... look at all the people that want to come into this program, and bring children from.. all these really nice neighbourhoods, and they all want to join these pre-school programs, and you're leaving spaces for kids that may or may not come? Because they're free. And so there was a real issue around the subsidized programming. .. That was the really important thing. And there was a lot of infighting about it.

The more middle-income people gradually started to drop off so that the core of the group were primarily from the Housing complex.

There have been tensions between the members from the lower-income and middle-income groups to varying extents in all of the neighbourhood centres. Two factors that seem to influence the extent to which neighbourhood groups experience significant tensions between the two income groups are the homogeneity of income distribution and the role of indigenous leaders. Centres where tensions were less problematic were located in neighbourhoods which were much more homogeneous in income levels. Clearly, there were people receiving family benefits but there were also lower-income working families. Hence, there was not such a wide spread amongst income groups. Without the great variance of income groups there tended to be a greater sense of shared experience, stresses and a common reality which was absent in neighbourhoods who had the richest and poorest living in the same geographic area. Secondly, the leadership in the organization also played a critical role in mediating the tensions. Hence, at one neighbourhood centre there was strong leadership and support from members who lived in the lower-income neighbourhood. Conversely, at one centre there were two groups of people, one group that were so stressed and for whom the centre required far more than they could give and a second group who had all of their basic needs met and who really wanted to be helpful. It seemed that this second group worked more from a charity than a social justice stance. The net result was the stressed, lower-income group was being overpowered by the less stressed middle-income group.

Overseer versus partner. This category is an extension of the "Friend vs. Foe" category from the initiating stage. It captures the centre's relationship with the surrounding community of service providers,

Lutherwood and its staff. It encompasses the experience of support, setting limits, the leadership role and the mixed feelings that volunteers experience in their relationships with each of these groups.

All of the centres report that in the building stage the surrounding community of service providers became more responsive and positive toward them. Not only does the community support increase in the building stage, but the number of supporters increases as well, to include businesses local to the neighbourhood centres, other service agencies and principals new to the area. The surrounding community becomes not only more accepting and positive but also provides tangible support to the neighbourhood centres. Usage of facilities in local schools, placing co-op students, fundraising, photocopying and grants to hire summer staff are tangible instances of this support. Hence, the surrounding community of service organizations are seen as partners.

The relationship between Lutherwood and each of the centres is often characterized by issues of control. In the first centre, Highland Stirling, there was very clearly a sense that the centre was staff driven. A former co-ordinator commented:

> it's one thing to speak a participatory line but its very difficult to enact and its not because people are necessarily into power and control issues it's the process.

Even the goal of resident participation was different in the first centre. The goal was to have the ideas of the residents which staff in turn used to develop programs. For instance, at Highland Stirling Lutherwood was seen by some as pushing a professional agenda by wanting to have parenting classes for participants. A former co-ordinator noted:

> one of their major complaints, ..the professionals told us what we needed. Yes, some parents were lacking in parenting skills and the parenting programs were needed; that I agree with but some felt that

> they were not taking our needs, wishes or desires into consideration. I personally did not feel that way.

In the building stage volunteers acquire more skills and savvy in the operations of the organization and at times they see Lutherwood as controlling. There is also a sense across various neighbourhood centres that in the building stage Lutherwood is in control, giving measured independence, monitoring and keeping the centres on track. Nevertheless, some members feel that whatever the organization decides to do is alright as long as Lutherwood says it's okay.

A volunteer said:

> what can we do by ourselves? Who's really in control? ..- I guess the one that I really heard from some one who's no longer here, that upset her that much, is I get the feeling that everything's okay as long as Lutherwood thinks it's okay, but if we wanted to do something that they didn't think was okay, then it wouldn't be.

The second area in which Lutherwood is perceived to exert control is in the management of the centre. This control is exerted in supervision of staff, managing conflict amongst volunteers and agenda items at board meetings. For instance, Southwood lobbied the municipal government and secured funding to hire a recreation staff during their building stage. Although volunteers had input into the hiring of the staff and determining their tasks, Lutherwood took over the supervision role rather than the recreation committee. Another incident at Southwood which involved conflicts amongst board members about the direction of the organization and the type and cost of programs being offered was also mediated by Lutherwood. It is noteworthy that this mediation role would have been played by the program manager had there been one in place at the time but given that vacancy, the Community Services Director mediated that meeting and she was perceived as the "heavy hand of Lutherwood coming down". Hence, volunteers often express

confusion over what tasks they can take responsibility for and to what degree do they need to consult staff. A specific example of this is the appearance of particular agenda items at board meetings. Often it seems that the particular item has more to do with Lutherwood's needs or interests than the neighbourhoods', which prompts the question about who is in charge. Although, this issue surfaces throughout the stages it seems to be resolved by board members feeling that they can be flexible in what they do in response to Lutherwood's suggestions.

Although not characteristic of other centres, or their developmental progression, another issue in Southwood's building stage was the introduction of a big, professional planning exercise to secure funding for a primary prevention project, Better Beginning, Better Futures (BBBF). Respondents reported that BBBF was a rushed professional planning exercise, that didn't involve the community as much as it might have. Although the exercise gave the neighbourhood profile, residents feared that it would get bigger and they were intimidated by it. Furthermore, the use of staff resources for BBBF may have detracted from the building of the fledging centre. There is also some question that it helped to create the imbalance between lower and middle-income members at Southwood since it captured the energy and excitement of the more skilled, middle-income volunteers who sat on the board while the members from the lower-income neighbourhood tended not to get involved.

Members across the various settings express ambivalent feelings about the relationship between Lutherwood and the centres. Although they experience the instances of Lutherwood exerting control over the centres, they also reported feeling safe and reassured that Lutherwood a big organization is behind them and backing them up. They also recognize that

the centres wouldn't exist without Lutherwood and that Lutherwood provides support and expertise that they would not have without that relationship. Even at the Southwood meeting where the Community Services Director mediated the conflict between the members, both staff and the chair of the board felt relieved that someone could come in and play that role since both felt, for various reasons, unable to play that role. Hence in the building stage Lutherwood is seen as a safety net as volunteers take increasing responsibility for the centres.

Although the category is entitled overseer versus partner, the relationship between the volunteers and staff perhaps could be better captured by supervisor (rather than overseer) versus partner. Volunteers trust and respect staff. They feel comfortable in approaching staff with a personal problem and knowing that the problem will be kept confidential. However, staff are still seen as knowledgeable experts. During the building stage there is a more distinct shift in balancing the power and influence between staff and volunteers. As volunteers take on more tasks and increased responsibility, there is a tension between seeing staff as helpers versus doers. The increased number of staff in the building stage can help to create an expectation on the part of some volunteers that staff can do more, or that unfinished tasks will naturally fall to staff to complete. Concurrently staff reported that they had to stifle the inclination to do particular things that they can do more quickly on their own because it is important for volunteers to do tasks, even if there is a risk of failure. A volunteer commented:

> Some volunteers tend to say well the staff can do it. So we had to constantly remind them no, that's not the type of centre we are, ..we're volunteer driven, and we have to do it. They can help us, but we have to do it... sometimes there were things that we planned that

> we had to be willing, but if they didn't work, they didn't work. That we couldn't let the staff cover up for some person's mistakes.

Hence staff must always weigh the tasks that they will undertake on their own and the ones that they will help and support volunteers to do.

Another tension in the relationship is volunteers wanting to do more and staff setting limits on the scope and pace of volunteer activities which leads volunteers to feel stymied. Hence, volunteers begin to question what decisions they can make, and begin to feel led by staff. A volunteer said:

> There would probably have been power struggles. Again the board would want to go ahead, like the pre-school for example..they wanted to run a pre-school for fifty children, and staff would have felt more comfortable with them running a pre-school for twenty-five children. Just things like that, and that also brought out some of the questions, okay, what sort of decisions can we make as a group and what can't we. Sometimes we felt we were being sat on and - we thought we can do this, you know, we can go ahead and do this. So I think they were a little nervous that things might get out of control, that we might get too many things on the go, and then volunteers would drop back, and then it would be left to staff support, and I think their resources were stretched pretty thin from that time too.

A related concern on the part of staff is that the over-extension of volunteers will contribute to volunteers becoming over-committed and stressed. The working out of these issues leads to a more balanced and equitable partnership between volunteers and staff.

Critical issues. The two critical issues for the centres in the building stage are staffing, and outreach. Staffing is critical in terms of core funding to maintain existing staff positions but also the stability of staffing to build the board since staff turnover is disruptive to the centre. It is also critical that staff are confident and understand the process of board building and can problem solve. Outreach is important in each stage is critical in the building stage to increase involvement, commitment, ownership and integration. There is a recognition that there needs to be a strategic plan for outreach and

recruitment that involves identifying key people in the neighbourhood and letting them follow through the tasks.

Transition from building to stabilizing. The factors that indicate a shift from building to stabilizing have to do with organizational structures, volunteers roles and relationships with external community partners. Organizationally, there are formalized committees in place, a strong core of volunteers who can be relied on to complete specific tasks, as well as, a strong board who can run meetings and set goals. Overall volunteers are able to take a fuller role in hiring and managing the centre, articulating the model and showing initiative in bringing ideas, revenue and problems to the table. In relation to external partners, the relationships developed through the building stage are well-established and maintained.

Summary and comparison of building stage. In the organizational framework presented by Quinn and Cameron (1983) the "collectivity stage" and the "building stage" share some features. In both frameworks this stage is characterized by a beginning sense of collectivity. This collectivity is characterized by high membership commitment and personalized leadership. In the "building stage" there is a trend toward more formalized structures (board and committees) and communication that is not yet evident in the Quinn and Cameron's "collectivity stage".

Since the work of Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Read (1987) is focused on the beginning stages of organizational development and includes cautions for the future I will not return to their work until the discussion of the consulting stage.

Both the "formalization stage" in the coalition model developed by Blum and Ragab (1985) and the "building stage" outlined in this study share

an emphasis on structure. In both instances this stage is focused on tasks, decision-making and re-defining staff roles. In the coalition model staff roles shift from organizing to organizational maintenance. While organizational maintenance is also important in the building stage, the staff continue to place a high premium on outreach. The specific tasks undertaken to achieve organizational maintenance are similar in both instances. They focus on leadership development, teaching volunteers specific skills, and inviting widespread participation. There is, however, a degree of difference between the two models in their emphasis on structure in these stages. In the coalition model there is a convention which is used to draw support and to establish rules of order, by-laws, and to elect an executive. In contrast the neighbourhood organizations are still more grassroots and less formal. Both frameworks acknowledge the tensions between the agendas of various members or constituencies.

Stabilizing Stage

The stabilizing stage of the three centres is much more diverse than any of the previous stages. For instance one centre is in the early phase of stabilizing, beginning to think about incorporating, while the other two centres have completed the stabilizing phase which included all of the issues and tensions relating to incorporation and have already hired their own staff.

Launching out. The category "launching out" captures the tasks and processes that serve to establish the organization in its own right within its respective community. The category also encompasses the broadening role of the volunteer, the resulting impact on the staff role and the ways in which volunteers work together.

In the stabilizing stage the centres continue to expand on the base established in the building stage. Specifically they build on the base of existing programs by increasing the number of programs, appealing to a broader base of participants and operating programs at a larger number of sites. The centres continue to experience the positive impact of the organization on the neighbourhood and on the lives of the adults and children who live in the neighbourhood. People's perception is that there are fewer police visits; incidents of vandalism have decrease; and increased skills and self-esteem for adults and children are evident. The centres provide a resource for the community, a safe place and they promote neighbourhood pride.

Volunteers also extend the infrastructure established in the building stage. Hence the management of the organization tends to become more structured and formalized. During the stabilizing stage Greenway conducted a program evaluation. It reported decreased levels of isolation and stress in

participants of more than one program as compared to non-participants. Guidelines are established and the once fledging organization begins to look more like other non-profit organizations. Setting the direction of the organization and its programs is one area in which this increasing formality can be seen. For instance at Greenway Chaplin there is an annual series of goal setting meetings. Goals are set for the upcoming one, two and five years and are set to be challenging but achievable. When Greenway started goal setting meetings they were initially done with the board and volunteers and later on the immediate community. In the stabilizing stage these goal setting meetings involve a broad range of community groups. Although setting direction can be seen as a critical aspect of establishing the longevity of an organization it is not given the same weight in the other two centres in the stabilizing stage. Although in the past, Southwood engaged in a goal setting exercise it was seen as something to get on paper. Instead setting the direction of the organization is done more informally, based on program specific evaluations, personal feedback, or as external opportunities present themselves.

Another way in which centres in the stabilizing stage begin to look more like established non-profit organizations is through hiring their own staff. This shifts the role of the volunteers from not only managing the organization but also being employers. Needless to say volunteers experience some anxiety about hiring the first staff and being sure that they have made a good choice. A volunteer commented:

> the uncertainty that - having to interview people for the - coordinators position, and you really hadn't done much interviewing, you didn't know if you were asking the right questions or what questions to ask, and what to look for. So that's where we pulled in the city to help us. ... it felt really awkward at first, because some of the people that we were interviewing we knew.

With the hiring of staff, volunteers also have to develop job descriptions, set priorities for staff and manage issues of supervision. Clearly it's a mutual learning situation. As the programs and infrastructure of the organization change in the stabilizing stage so too does the role of volunteers Volunteer roles become more specialized, requiring more responsibility, skill and work. This is addressed both by building on the skills of existing volunteers and continuing to recruit new members. In comparison to the building stage volunteer roles become more specific and there is less overlap between volunteer jobs. Volunteers take over running programs and meetings. Some volunteers take specific training courses to lead programs in the centre, such as a babysitting course or "making choices". Volunteers' roles also expand beyond the operations of the organization as other volunteers, rather than the chairpersons have contact with the centres' community partners.

One of the dynamics that becomes more prominent in the stabilizing stage is the interactions between new volunteers and established, experienced volunteers who have been with the organization for a long time. Usually the more experienced volunteers are in leadership roles within the organization; they are perceived as highly skilled and valuable to the organization but sometimes their presence may overshadow opportunities for less experienced members to join the organization.

A director of community services noted:

> the volunteers learn, but they also give. So to the extent that you have a strong personality, and some one who has extensive leadership skills and great credibility out there, ..- it takes a lot of work to ensure that that person doesn't overshadow absolutely everything else.

Hence there needs to be a recognition on the part of leaders of their peers and their contributions. Similarly, a volunteer who had been chairperson for three years noted that she was beginning to feel like a broken

record, putting a damper on the energy and ideas from new members. While leaders acknowledge these shortcomings it presents a dilemma for them because there often are not other members prepared to take on executive positions in the organization. Hence, while it would be ideal to have a new chairperson every two or three years there isn't always someone ready and willing to take that role because the chairperson of an organization in the stabilizing stage has a lot of responsibilities that extend beyond the centre. Therefore, there is a recognition of the need to nurture multiple leaders within the organization. A community services director observed:

> **I think that you need to be very up front, about the need to share the responsibilities in the centre for the well being and the long term future of the centre. .. I think you have to be really vigilant about that from day one. But you have to balance that with the reality that there are different personalities, and there are leaders and there are followers. The dilemma is when you appear to have only one leader, generally that's not the case and you have to find a way for other leaders to surface.**

As volunteers take on increasingly sophisticated roles, staff move more from being the teacher to being the guide and the coach. They work more in the background to support volunteers to develop priorities and to carry them out. For instance, historically staff generally didn't attend committee meetings any longer but were available to volunteers to discuss particular issues that arose out of the meetings. Participants in focus groups noted that sometimes it's difficult for staff to accurately assess how much direct assistance or guidance volunteers require and when to leave volunteers alone to complete a task. This suggests that staff need to be astute in assessing different individual needs for guidance and direction and determining when to leave volunteers to learn on their own. Furthermore, staff guide and coach volunteers in making contacts with community partners. This prepares volunteers for the relationships they will assume in the consulting stage.

There is a general trend toward bringing volunteers to meetings to observe, later to participate in meetings with staff and then for volunteers to do it on their own. However this is dependent on the preferences of individual volunteers.

Extending and strengthening partnerships. In the stabilizing stage the focus of the organization is more outward looking. Attention is paid to strengthening and extending the relationships forged in the building stage. The critical task is for centres to establish credibility and a reputation within the respective communities. As with internal operations of the centres, staff play a critical role in guiding and coaching volunteers in their relationships with external agencies. While in the building stage staff would have carried the primary contact with external partners, in the stabilizing stage they are introducing and guiding volunteers in these relationships. This is helping to create a level of preparedness and comfort with all of the intricacies of the neighbourhood centre.

Within the immediate neighborhood, the centres continue to do outreach, and advocacy on behalf of the neighbourhood. Since they are established within the neighbourhood they tend to draw widespread participation. However, outstanding issues and tensions between the centre and the neighborhood from the building stage continue to effect the relationship in the stabilizing stage. For instance, Southwood is still trying to overcome an image problem in the neighborhood that resulted from integration tensions experienced in the building stage that is evidenced by rumours that the centre's lotteries are "fixed" so that staff always wins. However, there is an appreciation of the need to balance the interests of members from within the Ontario housing complex with those of members living in the surrounding neighborhood. There is a concerted effort to draw

in members from the Ontario housing complex and recently members from the complex have attended board meetings to voice their concerns and have subsequently joined the board.

In the stabilizing stage, the centres continue to experience a positive and supportive relationship with the community of services that surround the neighborhood. In the stabilizing stage Greenway was well established and known and recognized as being well needed and credible in the community. Service providers involved with neighbourhood centres in Cambridge have noted their positive impact on their respective neighbourhoods, as well as their impact on the community of service providers that surround them. Neighbourhood organizations have been influential in having organizations clarify their missions and in pushing the boundaries of their relationship with the community. Neighbourhood organizations through their requests of other agencies' time, staff assistance and funding have prompted those agencies to re-think their mission and their way of interacting with the community. Many service agencies described a trend toward increased soliciting and valuing of community input rather than developing a program for the community in isolation of their input which they credit in part to the neighbourhood organizations. However, service organizations also noted that sometimes they are caught between neighbourhood organizations and the bureaucracies that they as individuals represent. So as they respond to the pushing from neighbourhood organizations they sometimes experience difficulty in pushing their respective organizations. Neighbourhood organizations have also encouraged service organizations to include more community participation in their way of doing business and to work in a mutually supportive way with the community. The link between neighbourhood organizations and service agencies has made it possible for

each group to offer programs to the community at various sites. Service agencies also noted that over the years neighbourhood centres have become more mature and strategic in their relationship with service organizations. They have become more strategic in their focus in closer consideration of their resources and target group. They have also become more politically astute as they develop and are better able to articulate their needs to service organizations. The ebbs and flows in working out a mutually beneficial relationship have resulted in a greater appreciation of resources and capabilities of service providers.

In the stabilizing stage, Lutherwood is seen as more of an equal partner. This is facilitated by the centre's pursuing independent funding and hiring their own co-ordinator. From the struggling and testing of boundaries of the earlier stages, a more equitable partnership has emerged. For centres the relationship is more comfortable; they can look to Lutherwood for guidance, weigh their advice, but feel free to make their own decisions. A volunteer commented:

> Lutherwood was not really in favour of us getting into the bingos, because that was again a gambling type situation, but that was a board decision that we made, and they left it with us as our thing. And just little things like that, that really didn't fit into their mandate, but they allowed us to put it in ours. .. they wouldn't say we couldn't do it, but they would suggest maybe we shouldn't do it. ..it was good, because it made us stop and think that maybe we should be thinking more this way. Some things we did agree with them, and other things we said no, that we really wanted to try it this way, and so we went ahead.

Getting ready to incorporate (taking flight without crashing). The category "getting ready to incorporate" encompasses the readiness of centres to become incorporated and the feelings and tensions experienced in negotiating this passage.

For all centres there is generally an understanding that they are working toward incorporation, a time when they will become independent of Lutherwood. There is consensus of common indicators which signal a readiness to pursue incorporation. These indicators are related to the operation of the centre and the organization's sense of its purpose and mission. Clearly there must be an ability to manage the operations of the centre as a precursor to independence, particularly a sound management of finances and the capacity to work through the arduous tasks of incorporation. The second indicator has to do with the centre's sense of itself. There must be a sense of ownership on the part of the all members, and a clear sense of their guiding principles, mission and direction. Related to a clear sense of self the organization must have spokespersons who can represent the organization, capably stating their case. Despite the presence of readiness indicators, the transition between stabilizing and consulting is rife with tension and ambivalent feelings. A former staff commented:

> I think people on one hand felt reassured, because there was a certain safety that big brother was watching, taking care of, no matter what happened Lutherwood would be there. When we started talking about separation, and moving away from, there was a panic. And while the Greenway really wanted its independence, at the same time they were terrified of it, and they kept saying well, what if this happens, what if that happens.

While there is excitement and anticipation with the prospect of becoming independent there is also fear and anxiety. There is concern about the logistics of operating independently specifically concerns with liability, funding, employment management and legal responsibilities. Hence centres are wanting to operate on their own but reluctant to lose the safety net of Lutherwood. There was a constant tension between seeking independence, and seeking reassurance. A community worker said:

> I think they're forging their own destiny, but once in a while they still have to look to Lutherwood for advice.

Despite these mixed emotions members reported feeling generally supported by Lutherwood during this time of transition. However, it is no less anxiety provoking for Lutherwood. A director of community services commented:

> - the model, as you know, doesn't give a lot of direction, in terms of how the transitions happen,.. in terms of what do I let them do, what do I not let them do, how involved do we let them get. ... And so that probably created areas of vagueness and uncertainty, and insecurity for everyone, ... You had an organization that was looking to Lutherwood for leadership, and you had Lutherwood sort of saying, well, isn't there a book somewhere. ..there weren't any ground rules here.

There was an uncertainty about how to proceed, so it was worked out on an issue-by-issue basis. Many members have described this time period as being analogous to adolescence. In retrospect there is a feeling that next time the transition would be more guided by the neighborhood organization and that Lutherwood would not be ready to prevent some slips and falls.

During this transition between stabilizing and consulting Greenway experienced a period of de-stabilizing which prompted them to suggest an additional stage in the developmental model of neighbourhood organizations. Concurrent with Greenway moving to independence was the initiation of another neighborhood centre, Southwood. While trying to secure funding for Greenway, Lutherwood initiated Southwood and relocated the supervisor from Greenway to Southwood. This prompted staff changes at Greenway, a period of time without staff, then a failed attempt at hiring staff and the subsequent return of a Lutherwood community worker. Needless to say this turn of events created a great deal of stress and anger and de-stabilized Greenway. A former staff noted:

> Too many changes... There was the excitement of the Southwood project, but it was a lot of hard work, and that was around the time when people started feeling jealous over the Southwood, and the panic

> really set in. They're leaving us. And the resentment... it was a very tough time, because we were dealing with a lot really emotional issues.

Another staff noted:

> Like I don't care if they took the photocopier when they went to Southwood but I'd hear stuff like that. The fact of the matter is that was capital property that belonged to Lutherwood and they were moving their office to Southwood, but they were seeing it as a loss of a resource that Lutherwood had taken with them.

During this de-stabilizing there was a decrease in volunteer commitment and programs began to suffer. There was some discussion about whether to close the centre or to move forward. Hence the group turned their attention to maintaining the organization rather than moving ahead with incorporation. This state of affairs made it impossible to think about incorporation with only three board members. During this time Greenway felt bitterness and resentment that Lutherwood had expanded at their expense, and didn't fulfill its promise of providing core staff and on-going funding. However, the arrival of the Lutherwood community worker helped to re-establish links and recruit new board members.

A former prevention supervisor noted:

> Greenway Chaplin challenged Lutherwood on the model. They felt that Lutherwood did not fully consult them when the agency decided to expand to Southwood. They felt they weren't ready, and that this move almost did the group in. (chairperson) wrote a letter to (Lutherwood's Executive Director), .. complaining about Lutherwood's self interest. Starting projects saying you have a model for initiating, building, stabilizing, and consulting. Well we're not stable. And moving the supervisor has de-stabilized us. So that was rocky going. But it was nice to see people follow that logic. And then it all worked out. The Lutherwood community worker gave her full attention to re-building the group, MCSS funded Greenway directly and we hired (Greenway's co-ordinator), who worked out great. We had a great party and parted good friends.

These issues were resolved as Greenway got funding, hired their own staff and moved ahead with incorporation.

Critical issues. The critical issues in the stabilizing stage focus on funding and getting ready to incorporate. For two of the centres, stable funding continues as an issue. For Highland Stirling the issue of stable funding determined whether or not they would stay in operation. In the stabilizing stage there are also critical issues relating to incorporation. For Southwood the issues are related to determining what needs to be done to become incorporated and continuing to develop leadership to manage the centre's resources. For Greenway it was related to hiring a co-ordinator and addressing the fears and tensions of becoming independent.

In summary the goal of the stabilizing stage is to create a circle of support around the centre, with housing, schools etc., to hire a co-ordinator, secure funds and have consultation arrangements with Lutherwood and the City.

Transition from stabilizing to consulting. The factors that indicate a transition from stabilizing to consulting have to do with organizational operations, and relationships with other service providers and Lutherwood. In the domain of organizational operations there is a stable and skilled board who can manage finances, develop polices and procedures, goals and engage in strategic planning and accountability functions. The presence of their own funding base and staff also mark the transition from stabilizing to consulting. The organization has spokespersons, involvement with other service systems, and has navigated the process of pulling away from Lutherwood.

Summary and comparison of stabilizing stage. In the "formalization stage" outlined by Quinn and Cameron(1985) as in the "stabilizing stage", there is an increasing sense of formality, stability and an emphasis on maintenance. In the organizational development framework, this is evident in a focus on goal setting and attainment. While this does happen to some

degree in the neighbourhood organizations in the "stabilizing stage" it is to a lesser extent than is reflected in the "formalization stage". For instance in the "stabilizing stage" there is an emphasis on continuing to built volunteer skill, increasing the program base, building a broad base of participation and extending partnerships. In at least one neighbourhood organization there was a continuing attention to maintenance in the form of goal setting, annual meetings and evaluation.

In both "coalescence stage" (coalition model) and "stabilizing stage" there is a shifting of responsibility from the sponsoring agency to the neighbourhood organization. For instance in the "stabilizing stage" the neighbourhood organization hires its own staff. In both organizations there is a trend toward being proactive rather than reactive. Furthermore, in the coalition model there are particular mechanisms set in place to keep the organization in line with its ideology, a piece that is missing in the lifecycle of neighbourhood organizations described in this paper. The coalition model also notes a "transition stage" which was experienced by one of the neighbourhood organizations. This "transition stage" captures some of the issues that one neighbourhood organization faced on the way to autonomy in terms of staff changes, drops in participation and funding concerns.

Consulting Stage

Maturity. The category "fully functional" is an extension of " launching out" in the stabilizing stage. In the consulting stage the organization is mature and experiencing the rewards of the foundation laid in earlier stages. They are well-known and established in the neighbourhood. They are respected by the neighbourhood and the broader community as unique and as a partner providing a necessary service in the neighbourhood.

a program manager noted:

> **(the neighbourhood organization is) able to state what its mandate is, and to hold true to it, and ensure that they're not being manipulated to do something they don't feel fits with their role as a neighbourhood association.**

Ideally in the consulting stage they are a competent organization in which members have a strong sense of ownership. There is a large board with lots of programs which reach different segments of the surrounding neighbourhood. They are able to pull in resources from other agencies and use them well. They continue to fine tune programs in response to new needs. Furthermore, there is a blend of new and experienced volunteers as new volunteers are groomed to take on increasing responsibilities. The chairperson is skilled in running meetings and facilitates the group in working together. Additionally , there are several spokespersons for the organization, who can represent the interests of the organization at different meetings. However, the consulting stage is not a steady stage. When Highland Stirling first started in the consulting stage, its stability was tenuous. Although they had their own co-ordinator and a strong base of programming, the consultation was more "touch and go". It was difficult to

maintain the board and participant involvement. A strong sense of ownership was missing in the community.

Clearly the vitality of the mature organization depends on its membership. Not only must there be a continuing influx of new members but there must also be training and passing on of the knowledge and history that the more long-standing members possess. One centre in the consulting stage experienced the resignation of both a long standing chairperson, and the co-ordinator which created a six-month gap before a new co-ordinator was hired. In this same time period, the Lutherwood consultant also resigned. Needless to say this set of circumstances meant that the organization had to focus on re-building the infrastructure. There were few board members left, so recruitment was a priority. However, the organization still had a strong base of programs and supports so the re-building was not as intensive as in the initial building stage.

Another way in which the organization is fully functional is in the realm of staffing. In the stabilizing stage the organization hires its first co-ordinator, in the consulting stage the organization grows in its role as employer. There is a refining of the relationship particularly as policies relating to hiring, discipline and dismissal are formulated and closer attention is paid to monitoring and accountability .

Balance of power. In the autonomous organization, power resides amongst the members of the organization. One of the tensions for organizations in the consulting stage is maintaining the delicate balancing power between members and their staff, or between members and the consultant from Lutherwood.

The co-ordinator in the autonomous organization is responsible for the overall management and co-ordination of all of the centre's activities. Their

role is much broader than that of the community worker because the co-ordinator manages the programming, legal and financial responsibilities of the organization. Specifically, they supervise programs and volunteers, keep records, make submissions, liase with other agencies and conduct outreach. It is their responsibility to bring information to the board to assist them in making informed decisions. While the co-ordinator has a great deal of responsibility, she/he does not function as an executive director, rather she/he works to support the board and carry out the board's decisions. Often the distinction between the role of staff and that of the board is a source of confusion and one which can tip the delicate balance of power. This is particularly the case because the co-ordinator often has more skills, experience and education than the members of the organization. She/he is supervised by the board but experiences frustration in having to assist volunteers with the supervision role. Hence the co-ordinator has to train the members in their capacity both as supervisors and as community leaders. A program manager commented:

> Well, it's always a difficult role for the coordinator particularly, I think, because in more ways than just related to the personnel issue, they're trying to train the leaders - training people to become leaders in their community-- and at the same time those leaders are there, are already responsible for the organization. I guess we have the luxury in the other neighbourhood centres that the ultimate responsibility still rests with Lutherwood, so there's lots of time to train people, and not force them into roles they might not feel ready for.

Hence there is always a risk that the organization will become more staff than volunteer driven. One safeguard is to ensure that both board and staff understand their roles and the potential danger of one party tipping the balance. Another way in which to balance the power is the ongoing training and development of strong volunteer leaders. At one centre where the co-ordinator had been a participant then a board member before working as the

co-ordinator she expressed concern that the members were too comfortable with the situation and that they didn't critically challenge her. Hence the co-ordinator felt that the sense of ownership of the organization amongst volunteers was lacking. A related concern that was expressed at one centre was the close relationship between the chair and the co-ordinator such that other members felt that the co-ordinator could not be properly supervised without compromising the friendship. While it is essential that there be a good working relationship between the co-ordinator and the board it is often difficult for board members without any experience to supervise staff in a constructive way.

The organization's relationship with Lutherwood shifts in the consulting stage and Lutherwood is seen as a supportive partner who is able to help put things in to perspective for the centre. A volunteer commented:

> **Lutherwood has always been a morale supporter and our pat on the back. Our encouraging word. When you're the most frustrated, they say the right things. They put things in to perspective.**

Given Lutherwood's size and stature in the community it is able to provide some very practical support such as : information, serve as a bridge in facilitating contacts and work on joint initiatives. For instance Lutherwood has provided information on federal and provincial funding programs and leadership in joint funding proposals such as "Brighter Futures". They have lend their expertise and credibility to assist neighbourhood organizations with their negotiations with the school board and the city. Furthermore, they have facilitated the referral of neighbourhood families with complex needs to other services. In the consulting stage the relationship between Lutherwood and the neighbourhood organization becomes more formalized in a memorandum of agreement which outlines the responsibilities of each party.

This memorandum includes a sum of money that comes directly to Lutherwood from the funders but is earmarked for the respective autonomous organization. This funding provides a strategic link and supports Lutherwood's continued involvement with independent neighbourhood centres. This is important given the vulnerability of some neighbourhood centres and the multiple problems that can arise. A director of community services noted:

> I worry, at times, that the neighbourhood organizations don't want to appear vulnerable to Lutherwood; they always want to appear strong in our eyes. I guess that concerns me. Things aren't always perfect for neighbourhood organizations. There is an ebb and flow.

The memorandum of agreement also includes a consultation package negotiated on an annual basis. This package involves consultation and advice on volunteer and board development, fundraising and employment issues. The consultation package is carried out by the program manager from Lutherwood. Although, the relationship with Lutherwood is more formalized in the memorandum of agreement the nature of consultation is flexible, occurring at different levels at different times. Nevertheless the consultation is systematic rather than crisis-oriented. The consultant is viewed as a support and advisor to the staff and a mentor and advisor to the board. The consultant plays a critical role in assisting both the staff and the board in matters of supervision. They also provide an essential link and orientation to the Lutherwood model and history of the organization, particularly in a time when there has been a period of turnover amongst board members and the co-ordinator. They can also be instrumental in mediating on difficult issues on behalf of the organization in relation to external partners or between the co-ordinator and the chairperson. For instance, when Highland Stirling was experiencing conflicts about the space it was sharing with

another neighbourhood organization Lutherwood helped to mediate this conflict in concert with the city of Kitchener. Nevertheless, the consultant can be caught in an awkward position of being constrained to giving advice rather than direction. A program manager said:

> But it's a difficult role, particularly when the staff are new, They don't have a real sense of what their roles are, and .. I'm not an authority for them, in terms of telling them what to do, and it's frustrating sometimes, because they're not doing what, perhaps, I think ideally they should be doing as staff at a neighbourhood association. Now, that's changing over time.

This can be the case when the consultant perceives that the organization could benefit from consultation on issues but the members don't see this as a priority(i.e. prevention), or in conflicts between the staff and the board.

There continues to be a tension even in the consulting stage about the extent to which the organization is truly directed by the members or whether it is the sponsoring agency's agenda that is being served. A former co-ordinator noted:

> It goes right back to the issue I felt always, the role of facilitating, enabling that role, vis-à-vis the professionals agenda and model that they want to pursue and follow.....I think, we may think that we're facilitating or enabling but whose purpose are we facilitating.....and I don't know whether it's as much consulting as it is directing.

Testing the boundaries of the consultation occur with organizations in the consulting stage who have had members involved since the beginning of the organization. If these members are interested in tinkering with the model and the extent to which the sponsoring agency is flexible about the model indicates more of a consulting rather than directing relationship.

Integration: Us and them revisited. While all of the integration issues discussed in the earlier stages have focused on centres located in Ontario housing complexes, in the consulting stage one centre, not located in Ontario housing, also experienced integration tensions. Highland Stirling had started

out in an apartment building in the neighbourhood and later was offered space in a City recreation building. The City offered clerical and reception support, and some space at the centre that would be exclusively Highland Stirling's and space that would be shared with another neighbourhood group. This arrangement provided the stability of an integrated, community space for Highland Stirling. However, there were tensions that resulted from the integration of the two different neighbourhood groups. Once again with each group responding in general to the needs and interest of either lower- or middle-income groups. There were a number of contentious issues that related to the staffing, funding and philosophy of Highland Stirling, as well as, contentions that related to the clientele that Highland Stirling served and the personalities of the members of each organization. One source of contention between the two groups was that Highland Stirling has paid staff and receives funding from the Ministry of Community and Social Services. The other organization has a staff to consult with them, but they do not have any paid staff. The two organizations sharing the same space also have differing philosophies; Highland Stirling has a prevention, self-help thrust while the other neighbourhood organization has a recreation focus. Highland Stirling members perceived members of the other neighbourhood organization as judgmental, and prejudiced against lower-income families. A volunteer noted:

> the make-up of their board as individuals, was different than the make-up of our board, as individuals. They thought themselves to be very open, warm, friendly, but they were very prejudiced about people..that were of lower-class than they were. They were extremely offended by other people whose children had behavioural problems.

Highland Stirling perceived the other neighbourhood organization as providing unsolicited advice and interfering with Highland Stirling

concerning issues of attendance at programs and volunteer recognition. These issues were also played out in Highland Stirling perceiving themselves as equal partners with the other neighbourhood organization in the centre and the interest in having the name of the centre reflect the two groups that reside there. The continuing conflict between members from the two groups culminated in a meeting with representatives from Lutherwood and alderpersons from the City. Subsequent to this meeting an agreement for use of the centre was drafted.

Critical issues. The critical issues for organizations in the consulting stage have to do with maintaining the vitality of the organization. It is important for organizations in the consulting stage to maintain their sense of identity and their commitment to a prevention orientation. A volunteer reflected.

> I'd say don't forget where we came from. And maybe you should look at that a lot closer.

To ensure their vitality organizations must maintain their links and network of supports. To ensure the longevity of the organization, they must continue to clarify the respective roles of volunteers and staff and continue the cycle of volunteer recruitment that builds a wide base of involvement.

Summary and comparison of consulting stage. The organizational model presented by Quinn and Cameron(1983) shares some similarities with the life cycle model. In the "elaboration" as well as in the "consulting stage" there is an emphasis on adaptation and renewal. There is continued flexibility in responding to the surrounding community, an on-going interest in resource acquisition and growth. Quinn and Cameron suggest domain expansion as one of the features of the "elaboration stage" which is not evident in the lifecycle of neighbourhood organizations. However,

neighbourhood organizations continue to grow and adapt to the changing circumstances in the neighbourhood and the organization. While some neighbourhood organizations undertake new ventures this is not done to the extent that the organizational model outlines as domain expansion.

While Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Read's (1987) work does not specifically relate to the later stages of development in organizations, it does underscore the longevity of issues present at the beginning of the organization which remain as issues many years later. This is particularly true in the status of the fledging community services department of the sponsoring agency vis-à-vis the other treatment- oriented departments. Community services have always had fewer resources and less influence. Furthermore, Sarason and Bartunek and Betters-Read highlight the need for organizations to be prepared for the inevitability of change and to create vehicles for change. They stress both the importance of critical self-reflection for organizations and the importance of resources flowing from ideology. These issues receive less attention in neighbourhood organizations than one might expect given their philosophy and value base.

While the coalition model (Blum & Ragab, 1985) has "regeneration and coalescence" as the final stage this is seen as a resurgence of earlier stages rather than a level of maturity. Hence, "regeneration and coalescence" is different than the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations in which in the "consulting stage" there is an increasing sense of ownership and increased autonomy, the culmination of the earlier stages. However the "consulting stage is not a steady state rather it is a stage in which as time passes the organization re-visits earlier issues such as volunteer participation and leadership. Blum and Ragab (1985) conclude that it is essential to have a core of leadership, legitimacy, project support from the community,

commitment to an empowerment philosophy, an external sponsor and a cycle of vigilance. These too can be seen as critical features for neighbourhood organizations. This is especially true as it relates to the cycle of vigilance which ensures an on-going reflection of and commitment to the values and philosophies that not only undergird the neighbourhood organizations but also make them distinctive.

Summary of Results: A Lifecycle Model of Neighbourhood Organizations

The Jones and Silva (1991) framework broadly suggests three foci within each cycle, tasks, processes and interactional components. This framework provides a fitting orientation to the data collected in this study. The lifecycle of neighbourhood organizations is captured at each of their stages of development by attending to the tasks, processes and relationships(See Table 6).

Initiating stage. In the initiating stage the overarching critical task for the neighbourhood organization is **developing trust**. All of the tasks, processes and relationships tackle this issue and work toward its achievement. The tasks in the initiating stage are captured in the category **"necessary ingredients"**. The necessary ingredients are further broken down into tools and resources. The tools are the assessment techniques and the prevention philosophy of Lutherwood. The resources are physical structures to house the centre, funding, and human resources: Lutherwood its credibility, expertise, and staff. Volunteers bring their energy and commitment. The processes of the initiating stage are captured in the category **"coming together"**. This category discusses how volunteers are drawn together, how volunteers begin to work together including the critical role that staff play in creating a comfort level for volunteers and how volunteers work with staff. The relationship issues are captured in the categories **"us and them," "who's in charge"**, and **"friend or foe"**. The category "us and them" describes the context of the neighbourhoods capturing the tensions that exist between the lower- and middle-income groups. It goes on to describe efforts to integrate these income groups and the resulting tensions in the ways in which volunteers from the two income groups worked together. The category "who's in charge" focuses on the neighbourhood

organization's relationship with the initiating sponsor, Lutherwood. It describes the changing extent of community input , the orientation of staff and the relationship between staff and volunteers. The category "friend versus foe" captures the overall tenor of the relationship between the neighbourhood organization and the immediate neighbourhood, the surrounding community of service providers, Lutherwood and its staff. These relationships are initially characterized by wariness, suspicion and ambivalence. Critical issues identified in the initiating stage are related to the adequacy of staffing resources, learning to work together and developing relationships and networks.

Building Stage. In the building stage the overarching critical task for the neighbourhood organization is **developing credibility**. The tasks undertaken in the building stage to help achieve credibility are captured in the category **"getting to work".** The category "getting to work" describes the structures, (board, committees and programs) and activities that the organizations use to determine and to respond to community needs. The category **"learning the ropes"** focuses on the way in which volunteers work within the structure to promote the work of the centre. Specifically the category describes what volunteers learn, their changing role in the fledging centre, the stresses that they experience and the staff's role as the volunteers' coach and teacher. The relationship issues are captured in the categories **"we vs. me"** and **"partner vs. overseer."** The category "we vs. me" is an extension of the "us and them" introduced in the building stage. The category describes the continuing tensions between the lower- and middle-income groups as they are now focused on the programs that each group wants to provide. It also touches on the working relationship between volunteers as they struggle to find their niche and concurrently fulfill their needs and the

needs of the organization. The category "partner vs. overseer" captures the quality of the relationship between the neighbourhood organization and the community of service providers, staff, and Lutherwood. These relationships are seen as part of a continuum in which some members are seen primarily as supportive partners, as setting limits, or as controlling overseers. The critical issues in the building stage have to do with staffing and outreach to increase involvement and commitment.

Stabilizing stage. In the stabilizing stage the overarching critical task for the neighbourhood organization is **developing reputation and autonomy.** In the stabilizing stage the tasks and processes are more integrated and are captured in the category **"launching out".** This category describes the changes in the operations of the organization , an increasing program base and more structured, formalized operations. It also captures the changing volunteer role as managers and employers and the shifting of the staff role to even more of a tutor and guide. Process and relationships overlap in the category **"extending and building partnerships".** This category describes the relationships between the neighbourhood organization and the neighbourhood, broader community and Lutherwood as they become more reciprocal and mutually beneficial. The other category that focuses on relationship issues is **"taking flight without crashing"** which describes the tensions related to incorporation.

Consulting. In the consulting stage the overarching critical task for the neighbourhood organization is **maintaining vitality.** Once again in the consulting stage the tasks and processes are integrated and captured in the category **"maturity".** This category describes the organizational features of a fully functional organization and the role of volunteers as they continue to grow in their role as employers and managers. The relationship issues are

captured in the categories "**balance of power**" and "**us and them (revisited).**" The category "balance of power" describes the delicate balance that must be maintained between staff and board members and between the neighbourhood organization and the consultant. The category "us and them revisited" describes the tensions experienced by one organization that shared space with another community group in which income was one of the cleavages between the two groups.

Table 6

Life Cycle of Neighbourhood Organizations

	INITIATING	BUILDING	STABILIZING	CONSULTING
Tasks	Necessary Ingredients	Getting to Work	Launching Out	Maturity
Processes	Coming Together	Learning the Ropes		
Relationships	Us and Them Who's in Charge Friend or Foe	We vs. Me Partner or Overseer	Extending and Building Partnerships Taking Flight without Crashing	Balance of Power Us and Them (revisited)
Critical Issues	**Developing Trust**	**Developing Credibility**	**Developing Autonomy/ Reputation**	**Maintaining Vitality**

Discussion

There are particular themes that flow through the lifecycle of neighbourhood organizations. They are outlined in the introduction and literature review and instances of them are described in the findings section. In the discussion section I will bring these themes together in the headings: citizen participation, neighbouring, staff and participant experiences, role of ideology and changes across time.

A Lifecycle Model of Neighbourhood Organizations

Both the Jones and Silva (1991) model and the lifecycle model of neighbourhood organizations derived from this study appreciate the three interacting cycles: problem-solving, community building, and systems interaction. Furthermore, it is clear from both of these models that process is not necessarily smooth and unidirectional. Rather the emphasis placed on any one of these components may change, and it is essential not to lose sight of any one of the components. Additionally both models outline procedural steps that one can use in community building, something that in the past has existed only in the problem-solving cycle.

However these models have significant differences and the lifecycle model includes elements that are helpful in an integrated practice model of community development. The principle difference between the two models is in the case studies they used. Jones and Silva have drawn on one instance and provided a cross-sectional view of that episode of community development. Conversely, the lifecycle model takes four neighbourhood organizations in a longitudinal perspective that captures the various cycles across the lifecycle of each organization. Furthermore, in the Jones and Silva model there continues to be a focus on a clearly identified problem and the

identification of a target system to confront so that one can affect change that will benefit the client system. Conversely, the lifecycle model is more broadly focused on primary prevention rather than on one particular problem, or domain. Another difference between the two models is the final phase in the community development episode. In the Jones and Silva model the change agent exits from the setting, moving on to another community. In contrast the lifecycle model incorporates on-going consultation with the neighbourhood organizations in a way that is flexible and responsive to organizational changes. Furthermore, the Jones and Silva model does not address the tensions and stresses that arise as different groups of people with different skills and agendas try to work together. Additionally the Jones and Silva model does not explicitly state the values and ideology that guide the group they studied. Clearly the value base and philosophy is an important part of the lifecycle model. However, both models do underscore the importance of evaluation of both models and the outcomes of the problem-solving and community-building aspects.

Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is the lifeblood of any voluntary organization. The literature in community psychology suggests that citizen participation is related to several contextual features such as: the presence of "neighbouring activities", a perceived problem in the neighbourhood, self-efficacy and a belief in the efficacy of the neighbourhood organization (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman & Chavis, 1990; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). It is important to note that this literature reflects an American experience, set in a context in which citizens are taking political action to improve the quality of their lives and in which racial issues permeate the context. The neighbourhood organizations that

Lutherwood sponsors have a different agenda; their foremost concern is primary prevention. Hence, they work to encourage and enhance neighbouring activities, to build efficacy in individuals and the fledging organization. While there are clearly problems in the targeted neighbourhoods, they may not be high-profile problems that residents readily identify.

Nevertheless, the data on the lifecycles of neighbourhood organizations demonstrate a way of fostering citizen participation, as well as outlining some of the stresses and benefits that members experience. Neighbourhood organizations actively recruit volunteers to their organization and provide on-going support and nurturance to volunteers. The data from neighbourhood organizations describes how some individuals start out in the organization involved with specific short-term tasks, such as answering phones or providing child care. They progress as their interest grows and the organization grows to taking on tasks with increasing responsibility and skill. Hence one can see in neighbourhood organizations the progression of citizen participation from single tasks to the management of the centre which includes fiscal responsibilities and staff supervision. This progression of participation is aided by the support and guidance of staff and the sponsoring organization which not only provide information and training but tangible supports such as child care and transportation. Furthermore, the progression of citizen participation is matched by both Lutherwood and its staff moving from direct teaching and support, in the initiating stage to coaching, mentoring and consulting in the final stages.

Several barriers to citizen participation are also mentioned in the literature. Some of these barriers are poverty, low self- efficacy, transiency and the physical layout of the built environment (Eckenrode, 1983; Powell &

Eisenstadt, 1983; Rohe, 1985; Trotter, 1981). While these barriers are evident to varying degrees in the neighbourhood organizations in this study, additional barriers were also suggested by participants. These barriers were related to a lack of information about the neighbourhood organization and a lack of understanding about how the centre operates. Hence participants reported that people didn't get involved because they feared that it would require too much time and commitment, or there were financial and language barriers. However, it was not uncommon to hear barriers related to self-esteem and self-efficacy also noted.

The literature also highlights many benefits of citizen participation: the ability to respond to neighbourhood issues (Trotter, 1981); information dissemination (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990) and empowerment (Vanderslice, Cherry, Cochran & Dean, 1984). It is evident from the data that volunteers experience many positive benefits as a result of their involvement with the neighbourhood organization. Volunteers reported acquiring increased skills, and confidence; they make new friends, provide programs for their children and help to improve the neighbourhood. Some volunteers credit their return to school, or the job market as a result of their experiences in the neighbourhood organizations.

However, citizen participation in neighbourhood organizations is not without its stresses and challenges. The literature on citizen participation does not fully acknowledge the stresses that volunteers experience in being a part of neighbourhood organizations. Volunteers reported feeling frustrated, at times overwhelmed with too many things to do and burning out. Particular to the neighbourhood organizations in this study were stresses as a result of integration between lower- and middle-income groups. While there was an interest in integrating the two income groups, the reality was

that the lower-income groups were generally isolated in Ontario housing complexes which were set apart and stigmatized by the surrounding community. Both residents who lived in the complex or in proximity to it expressed fear and concern with the life in the complex. When residents from the two income groups were brought together, it became painfully clear that each group had a very different world view and a small base of shared experience. The continuing integration of these two different income groups demonstrated that often there was a significant power differential between members of the two income groups as a result of the disparity in skills and verbal prowess. One of the other stressful issues that arose out of this integration in one neighbourhood organization was a tension between pursuing group versus individual interests. Clearly while citizen participation is an essential part of neighbourhood organization it is a dynamic challenge that is very context specific.

One of the other issues related to citizen participation in this study relates to the gender of the citizens. The overwhelming majority of participants in the neighbourhood organizations over their 15 year history has been women. Many participants noted that the neighbourhood organizations were very welcoming and accepting of women. They reported that children were always welcome and meetings were geared to accommodate the needs of children through the provision of toys, snacks and supervision. Although there is an interest on the part of some members to take conscious action to recruit and involve men, others value the predominance of women in neighbourhood organization and are not so interested in seeing this change.

> A lot of good things happen for women, poor women have so little in their lives the Lutherwood model made a special, warm and nurturing place for

> the poorest woman in the neighbourhood. They had permission "to just be" come have a coffee, take some clothes with you, come again, here's a key..... I'm not sorry that men are not involved at the beginning. Women change when men are there. They forget their skills and we have to teach them those skills again. It's like when men come women think that they can't do anything, it's just the way we have been conditioned. However, as women become more secure and feel more confident, the integration with men is less stressful(former prevention supervisor).

However, the predominance of women in neighbourhood organizations among both the staff and participants has sometimes marginalized the work of the organization as "women's work", and not an essential part of the neighbourhood.

Neighbouring/ Sense of community

As noted in the literature it is very difficult to measure the sense of community that people experience (Chavis, Hogge, McMillan & Wandersman, 1986; Mamatis, 1990; McMillan & Chavis, 1989). Although, sense of community was not a central part of this study, it has been identified as a critical part of neighbourhood interventions. In the neighbourhoods that formed the basis for this study it was difficult to see a sense of community operating. Although, I did not specifically seek it out, it was difficult to see a sense of cohesion, membership, or shared emotional connection between neighbours in the respective neighbourhoods. In fact, perhaps it would be difficult to see a sense of community operating in neighbourhoods that are stigmatized and seen as "bad places" to live. A sense of community would be further thwarted by the sentiments of some residents who loathe the place in which they live, guard their privacy and wish to escape from living in the complex as soon as possible. However, in this study staff noted that in some communities there had been earlier instances of neighbours working together which could be seen as evidence that some sense of community existed. In

one neighbourhood several of the residents had previously worked together to organize a summer playground for the children in the neighbourhood. In another neighbourhood residents held an initial meeting to organize a neighbourhood watch but were dissuaded from pursuing this when their cars were vandalized. These initial attempts do suggest a sense of community in so far as residents were blending their mutual needs and interests.

These earlier instances of mobilization help to lay the ground work for citizen participation. They suggest that people know each other and are interested in working together to address issues that effect the life of the community. At the most recently initiated centre, staff used a discussion of what life is like in the neighbourhood as a way of inviting people to talk about their experiences and issues in the neighbourhood. For participants this discussion highlighted the similarity in the needs and issues presented both by people living in the complex and those living in the surrounding community.

Given that sense of community is difficult to assess, it may be more helpful to see it as one of many aspects of neighbouring. Unger and Wandersman(1985) reviewed literature from various disciplines and suggested that neighbouring includes social, cognitive and affective components. (Sense of community was an aspect of the affective component.) They suggested that each of these components interacts both with the neighbourhood organizations and neighbourhood development. Hence the social components include the tangible support (emotional, instrumental and informational) that neighbours exchange. Cognitive components include the cognitive maps that people develop and the ways in which they use the physical environment to communicate ownership and privacy. The affective components capture the feelings that characterize the relationships that exist

between individual neighbours and between neighbours and their neighbourhood. It includes not only a sense of community but also the sense that neighbours can be relied upon for help and the sense of attachment to place. Although there is a complex relationship between these components of neighbouring and participation in neighbourhood organizations, Unger and Wandersman (1985) suggest that for neighbours who join organizations their participation tends to foster their neighbouring behaviour. Clearly the centre can play a critical role in fostering and nurturing neighbouring. It can provide a place for people to meet, with opportunities for social interaction. Neighbourhood centres can also provide a forum and structure within which people can voice their concerns and take collective action. They provide resources such as staff and community contacts that can further help residents to take strategic action. All of these factors could help to create a sense of emotional connection and shared values amongst neighbours. Hence by taking into consideration the neighbouring that exists within a particular neighbourhood, neighbourhood organizations could gain a better understanding of the networks of support, leaders and issues that already exist in the neighbourhood. They can consider strategies to enhance neighbouring as it can serve both as a catalyst for action and residents' increased satisfaction with their life quality. For instance some participants in this study noted an increase in neighbourhood pride and efficacy, the sense that collectively they could make a difference.

Professionalization

The theme "professionalization" is evident through many parts of this study. Professionalization in this context is defined as the over-valuing of the knowledge, expertise and conduct of paid professionals at the expense of the knowledge, expertise and manner of community members. In the initiating

stage it is evident in the manner in which neighbourhoods are selected, staffed and programs offered. Throughout the life cycle of neighbourhood organizations, professionalization colours issues of control and in the consulting stage it is consciously addressed in balancing influence.

In the initiating stage the neighbourhoods are selected based on a professional assessment of risk. Often the neighbourhoods are defined as "needy" or "at risk", terms that are resented by the people who live in the neighbourhood. Through the years there is increasing input from a broader range of community in the selection of neighbourhoods although this typically does not include the residents who live there. The process of identifying neighbourhoods could be more inclusive of residents by more consciously soliciting their perspective. They could be involved in conducting the initial scan of resources and in identifying issues. Canvassing around a particular issue or need that can be identified can help in the initiating stage to rally support and generate interest. In the past there has been some feeling amongst residents that the current methods of initiating neighbourhood centres has put the cart before the horse, i.e. setting up a site in the neighbourhood without a clear sense from the residents that this is wanted or needed.

Similarly the way in which the Lutherwood model is presented is clearly part of an agenda set by the professionals. The model is presented to residents rather than being shaped by them. In the first centre initiated, there was a preponderance of staff such that residents saw the organization as the staff's rather than theirs. This perception was reinforced by the provision of programs that staff felt the residents could benefit from or in staff shaping programs a particular way based on residents ideas. Hence the very definition of resident involvement was different in the initial centre. In

the subsequent centres there is a greater sensitivity to the issues of staff control. However, it was still noted by participants that at times they felt controlled by staff, limited in the scope and pace of the activities undertaken. At times they questioned whose agenda was being pursued and what decisions could be made independently. The issue of whose agenda is being pursued is highlighted in the BBBF planning exercise. Although it was clearly aimed at helping the neighbourhood, it was loaded with professionals and conducted in a way that was rushed and not hospitable to the residents who lived in the neighbourhood. Another issue that highlights whose agenda is being pursued is the transition stage between stabilizing and consulting that one neighbourhood centre experienced. The neighbourhood organization felt that Lutherwood had expanded at their expense, at a time when the neighbourhood organization didn't have staff and funding had not yet been secured. Clearly the conduct of the sponsoring agency and its staff can be barriers to citizen participation.

In the consulting stage there is a sensitivity to the delicate balance between staff or the consultant and the board. Usually the staff and the consultant have more knowledge and skill than the board members. Hence it is seen as important that staff and the consultant remain committed to the development of community leaders and vigilant in their respective roles as resources rather than decision- makers for the board.

Across the development of each of the neighbourhood centres there has been an increasing appreciation and anticipation of the barriers that professionals must address in fostering authentic community participation. There is an acknowledgment that the process is not always neat and straightforward. Furthermore, there are deliberate efforts to tackle barriers related to professional language, jargon and dress (Church,1992).

Concurrently efforts are made to create informal spaces and to address barriers related to cost and childcare. While professionals have learnt to do this well in the context of neighbourhood organizations a challenge still exists in creating hospitable spaces for community residents in planning activities that are comprised predominately of professionals. Hence, some of the lessons and nurturance that laid the groundwork in neighbourhood organizations still needs to be transplanted into the context professional gatherings that seek community involvement.

Clearly the issues raised by professionalization are difficult and complex. Often staff act in a particular way not only on the basis of their professional training but also under the expectations and constraints of the sponsoring agency and funders. Hence, while it would be preferable to work in a particular manner or to foster a process it is not always realistic. Consequently there is an ongoing tension between fostering community development and citizen expertise and acting only on the basis of professional expertise in a unilateral, efficient manner. A possible safeguard against professional conduct that is noxious to community residents is an established forum or mechanism for community residents to evaluate the conduct and the quality of the work done by community workers in their respective community centres (Reiff, 1974).

Staff and Participant Experiences

The literature from community development and alternative organizations outlining the experiences of staff and participants was supported by this study. The concerns with over-commitment, burnout, turnover and securing ongoing funding were evident (Freudenberger, 1975; Reinharz, 1983; Riger, 1984). While participants and staff did not experience rejection by other service agencies, as noted in the literature, this may be accounted for by the nature of the work of the centres (Blum & Ragab, 1985 ; Mott, 1986; Riger, 1984). Unlike the organizations discussed in the literature, they did not have a social action agenda that put them in direct opposition to other agencies. However, staff and participants did experience an uncertainty and wariness on the part of the community and a tendency to view staff as experts which is also reported in the literature (Croft & Beresford, 1988). In the literature not only were staff seen as experts but often there is a very distinct power differential between staff and participants in which staff are seen as dictating the activities of the organization or in a discrepancy between the stated agenda of staff and participants. For instance, one case is cited in the literature (Croft & Beresford, 1988) in which staff are working with tenants not so much for the improvement of living conditions(the tenants' agenda), but for the political leverage this will gain them. This discrepancy in agendas was not noted in this study. However, this study noted that staff and the consultant can be caught in the middle between the board and the sponsoring agency, or between the staff and the board. Hence consultants wishing to be fair and helpful to staff have been caught between staff and an unpopular board decision and perceived to be interfering.

Role of Ideology

The literature on alternative organizations underscores the importance of ideology (Blum & Ragab, 1985; Reinharz, 1983; Riger, 1984; Sarason, 1972). It is ideology that sets these organizations apart from other ones and it is essential to their survival that decisions about the organization and its use of resources flow from the ideology. Clearly ideology plays an important role in the initiating and on-going development of neighbourhood organizations. It underscores the mission of the organization and how it will operate. The ideology that informs the work of neighbourhood organizations evolved during the work in the first neighbourhood centre. Since then it has been explicitly taught to the initial members who join the new organization. Unfortunately the way in which it is taught may often make it difficult for participants to grasp. Hence while the ideology is an important part of organizations, members don't always understand why the organization is located in a particular neighbourhood, why it operates a particular way, or what it hopes to accomplish. It is trusted that as members work within the organization they will better grasp the ideology such that the emphasis will no longer be on explicitly teaching the ideology but acting on it. While this is the hope of staff, the reality is often that participants who have been involved for a period of time do not understand the ideology of the neighbourhood organization. It is incumbent on leaders to train other leaders and often concern is expressed that the message of the ideology is obscured or diluted from its original form. Furthermore, there are no formal mechanisms to check people's understanding both of the purpose of the ideology or the transmission of it. This has prompted staff to suggest the need for an orientation manual that would spell out the role of the ideology in a straightforward manner that is sensitive to differing levels of literacy.

Another suggestion has been board retreats that could incorporate visioning and a values session.

The literature also underscores that one of the dangers in grassroots organizations is related to "ideological drift". Ideological drift is the difference between ideals enunciated in the ideology and the perceived operations of the organization in practice (Lordahl & Mitchell, 1980). In the case of neighbourhood organizations ideological drift relates to a drift away from the ideology that started the organization and should inform all of its work toward a more conventional social service organization. There is evidence that one of the neighbourhood organizations did experience ideological drift: a veering off course and a questioning of whose needs are being met by the existing programming. Blum and Ragab (1985) underscore the importance of a cycle of vigilance for organizations, an on-going process of paying attention to the danger of drift. They suggested that this could be done by engaging outside organizations to help the neighbourhood organization to do a critical assessment.

Changes Over Time: Between Initial and Subsequent Centres

There have been many significant changes over the years between the initiation of each of the neighbourhood centres. Two particularly noteworthy changes relate to the way in which organizations were initiated and the place of neighbourhood centres in their communities. Clearly the whole nature of doing prevention work has changed in the past 15 years. There has been a proliferation of projects and with each new project an expanding knowledge and understanding about doing prevention work. There are many more people engaged in prevention projects so one has ready access to expertise and communities have a higher degree of readiness for projects. Hence it is not surprising to see that the techniques used to assess

communities have become more sophisticated. There is a sharpening of the term "at risk" as well as, conditions of risk and a more balanced view of assessment that also includes strengths and capacities which could serve as "protective factors". Furthermore, there has been an increase in community input in prevention projects. For instance at Highland Stirling residents were not asked permission nor input into a grant proposal for funding a neighbourhood project. In contrast at a recent meeting of organizations interested in Brighter Futures project funding, there were representatives from each of the neighbourhood organizations (20% of attendees). Attendance at such meetings also underscores another change over the last 15 years and that is the place of neighbourhood organizations in the community of other service organizations. In many ways neighbourhood organizations have come into their own; they are seen as an important part of the community. Increasingly, they are consulted by other agencies in their development of strategic plans. They are also seen as a conduit for professionals seeking to access the community. Hence there has been an increase in peer teaching models of service delivery in the past number of years and neighbourhood organizations are seen as a natural place for this to occur. Neighbourhood organizations have also become more politically astute over time and more recently have been lobbying along side other groups when there have been concerns with funding cuts to services that are important to neighbourhood organizations.

Summary

Neighbourhood organizations share developmental themes with other models of organizational development. From inception to maturity there is a trend from informality to formality, from an internal focus to an outward

looking perspective, and from a reactive to a proactive stance. There is a trend in shifting responsibility from staff to participants.

Both citizen participation and sense of community are helpful concepts to be more fully appropriated in Canadian neighbourhoods. Concerns with professionalization, a drift in ideology and participant stress can serve to sensitize neighbourhood organizations to issues that require on-going attention.

While there is a growing understanding and expertise in doing prevention work, there is still much to be learned and communicated in a way that is helpful to neighbourhood organizations.

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Appendix A

Advisory Committee

Draft Terms Of Reference For Advisory Committee

INTRODUCTION

Lutherwood has been involved in primary prevention activities since the first neighbourhood centre began in 1978 and now there are four such centres. There is a model of the development within the neighbourhood centres which includes the stages of: initiating, building, stabilizing and consulting. It would be helpful to see how the model reflects, or varies from the experiences of the staff and participants of the neighbourhood centre. Hence exploring the experiences of neighbourhood centres as they move through their life cycles would be a valuable planning and education tool.

RESEARCH QUESTION

To describe how the various stakeholders in the neighbourhood centres of Highland-Stirling, Greenway Chaplin, Southwood and Christopher-Champlain experience the life cycle of these settings.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE

Members from each of the neighbourhood centres, as well as, one community worker will be invited to participate in the study. The Director of Community Services and the Program Manager of Community Development are also welcome to attend.

GOALS OF THE COMMITTEE

1. To provide a chance for the members of neighbourhood centres to be involved in research about their centre.

2. To develop a grounded model of community development that could be used for guiding other neighbourhood centres.

OBJECTIVES OF THE COMMITTEE

1. To develop a model of the lifecycle of neighbourhood centres.

2. To provide input into all phases of the research project (see workplan).

3. To provide a link between the research team and the respective neighbourhood centres as a way of sharing information and to promoting the use of the findings.

METHODOLOGY

A case study of each of the neighbourhood centres using interviews and document analysis.

OUTCOME

A written description of the history and status of each of the neighbourhood centres.

A grounded model of community development that can be used in planning, evaluation and education.

Draft Workplan For Advisory Committee

FOCUS	DATE
GETTING TOGETHER "Who are you"? "What do we want to know about neighbourhood centres"? "How will the committee work"? (confirm meeting dates)	Sept
GETTING FOCUSED "What are some ways of understanding neighbourhood centres"? "How can we learn about our neighbourhood centres"? "How will this *really* happen"?	Oct
GETTING READY "What will we ask people"? "Who will we ask"?	Nov
GATHERING INFORMATION "What's happening"?	Jan
MAKING SENSE OF IT ALL "What have we got"? "What does it mean"? "What do we want to do with it"?	July
SHARING FINDINGS "How will we share what we found"? "How will we use what we found"?	Sept

Issues to be Tabled with Advisory Committee

I will invite discussion of:

- Community involvement in the initiating stage in the selection of the community, mapping the strengths and risks and identifying neighbourhood issues.

- Sharing the Lutherwood model and ideology of the neighbourhood organization. (How can this be done in a way that is accessible and can be continued as new members join?)

- Coping with volunteer stress (over-involvement, turn-over, and too few doing too much, moving into consulting and becoming employers).

- The role of critical reflection as it relates to celebrating the organizations accomplishments and planning for the future.

- An exploration of the role of the neighbourhood organization in the fostering of neighbouring as a way of developing a stronger sense of community within neighbourhoods.

- The role of staff and finding the balance in the staff role between facilitation and action, the number of staff in the neighbourhood organization and ways of providing feedback on staff conduct and the quality of their work.

Appendix B

Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

WARM-UP

1. What are you doing in the neighbourhood centre right now?

2. What is it like to be involved in the neighbourhood centre?

   [How did you first get involved]

QUESTIONS FOR ALL STAGES

Activities/decision making:

1. Describe the activities of the centre,

   [How was work determined,informally, needs assessment?
   How are priorities set?
   How do people work together?]

Organizational structure:

2. How is the centre organized?

3. How were staff selected?
   What was their role?

   [What is the effect of staff change?]

4. How were volunteers recruited?
   What was their role?

   [What is the effect of volunteer turn-over?
   How do you keep people involved?]
   What are the barriers to non - participants]

Relationships:

5. How do people work together at the centre?

   [How is ownership fostered?]

6. How would you describe the relationship between staff and the board members?

   [Are staff seen as 'experts']

7. How would you describe the relationship between the centre and the immediate community (i e the catchment area)?

   [Is there a broad range of participation?
   Is there a stigma attached to the centre?]
   What has the impact of the centre been on the neighbourhood?]

8. How would you describe the relationship between the centre and the immediate community of service providers that surround the centre (i.e. the Housing Authority, schools, businesses)

9. How would you describe the relationship between the centre and Lutherwood?

Personal involvement:

9. What was it like for you to be involved with the centre at that point in time?

   [How did you change?]

Critical Issues:

10. What do you see as the issues at this stage in the process?

    [priorize these issues]

11. What do you see as the strengths/ weaknesses of the centre at that point in time.

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR STAGE ONE (Coming together, initiating)
(Highland -Stirling 1978 - 1979 , Greenway - Chaplin 1986 -1987, Southwood: 1988 - 1989, Christopher - Champlain: 1990 - 1991)

Getting started/philosophy:

1. Describe how the neighbourhood centre started?

[Was there a perception of a problem?
Was there a guiding philosophy , or way of thinking about the centre?"
Where did this come from,? (staff, residents, others in the region)
How was this philosophy developed, communicated,
How is it reflected in the way that the centre is organized?
How were neighbourhoods identified as "at risk",
Does the way centre started have implications for later growth?]

Stakeholders:

2. Who was involved when the centre started?

3. How did they work together?

   [How did they manage conflict?]

4. How did you pass on the idea of what the neighbourhood centre was trying to do to people who later joined the group?

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR STAGE TWO (Coming together, building)
(Highland - Stirling: 19 79 - 1983, Greenway - Chaplin: 1987 - 1988, Southwood: 1989 - 1990, Christopher - Champlain: 1991 - 1992)

Stress:

1. Describe some of the stresses that members experience at the centre?

   [Are over-commitment, burn- out, high rates of turn over issues?]

2. How do you cope with these stresses?

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR STAGE THREE (Working together, stabilizing)
(Highland - Stirling: 1984 - 1988, Greenway - Chaplin: 1988 - 1991, Southwood: 1990 -)

Change:

1. How does carrying out the work of the centre change over time?

   [Does it become more formal, accountable?]

2. How does the group view change?

   [Are there ways for planning and coping with change]?

Assessing Impact:

3. Does the centre assess the impact of what it does?

   [Does this happen formally, informally,?
   How is this translated into action]?

4. Does the group spend time discussing how its doing overall as a centre?

   [How does critical reflection happen,?
   What is the result ?]

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR STAGE FOUR (On our own, consulting)
(Highland - Stirling: 1988- 1989 , Greenway - Chaplin 1991)

Incorporating:

1. What factors lead to the decision that it was time to incorporate?

Mission:

2. How does the centre set its direction?

   [What is its mission,
   What if it diverges from Lutherwood's]

3. What are the goals for the centre?

SUMMARY QUESTIONS:

1. What do you see in the future of the centre ?

2. Are there only four stages of development?

3. How do centres move from stage to stage?

   [What marks the transitions]?

4. How are links between centres developed?

   [How do you feel about these links]?

5. In retrospect, what advice would you have for a fledging centre?

Appendix C

Focus Group Questions (Neighbourhood Organizations)

QUESTIONS

Each of you have been involved in the neighbourhood centre in a different way for a different length of time. The questions we will discuss ask you to think about the ways in which things have changed over the time that you have been involved at the centre. You are invited to answer each of the questions but you are also free to pass and not answer any question.

Introduction:
Please tell us your name and how long you have been involved with the centre.

1. What were some of the reasons that you got involved at (insert name)?
2. What do you think keeps people from getting involved at (insert name)?
3. What has being involved at (insert name) meant for you personally?
4. What are some of the stresses that you experience in being involved at (insert name)?
5. What do you see as the role of staff at (insert name)?
6. How would you describe the relationship between staff and volunteers at (insert name)?
7. What has been the impact of the (insert name) neighbourhood centre on the surrounding community?
8. What do you see as the strengths of the (insert name) neighbourhood centre?
9. What do you see as the weaknesses of the (insert name) neighbourhood centre?
10. What do you see as the purpose or mission of the (insert name) neighbourhood centre?

Appendix D

Focus Group Questions (Service Providers)

QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP

Each of you has been involved with the neighbourhood centre(s) in a different way for a different length of time. The questions we will discuss ask you to think about the ways in which things have changed over the time that you have been involved with the centre(s). You are invited to answer each of the questions but you are also free to pass and not answer any question(s).

1. How is your agency involved with the neighbourhood centres?
2. What has been the impact of the neighbourhood centre(s) on your organization's mandate?
3. What do you see as the role of the neighbourhood centres?
4. What has the impact of the neighbourhood centre(s) been on its immediate community?
5. How have the neighbourhood centres changed over the years?

Theoretically Lutherwood's role regarding the neighbourhood centres has been to assist their development through four stages (initiating, building, stabilizing and consulting).

6. What is your understanding of Lutherwood's involvement with the neighbourhood centres?
7. What has been your experience of Lutherwood's involvement?
8. What do you see as the critical issues for the neighbourhood centres at each stage in their development (initiating, building, stabilizing, consulting)?
9. What do you see as the strengths and weaknesses of the Lutherwood model?
10. How would you change the model?

Appendix E

Sample of Coding

Sample of Coding

SW, Building Staff role - to bring 2 income gr together, -provide chances for them to work together Organizational structure -program, newsletter, clothing committee	05:	I think that a major role of the staff at that point, was to bring these two groups together. And really provide chances for them to work together, like that was when the program committee first started, and the newsletter committee, and the clothing committee. So those would have been the first three committees. That were started. It tried to involve people from both inside the neighbourhood and outside.
Working together - frustrating: outside gr. set date time etc.,	B:	And how did that work out?
	05:	To tell the truth, it was frustrating. The group from outside seemed to be the ones who were used to setting a date for a meeting, setting the time, and showing up.
-inside gr. something would come up couldn't attend -addressed with more of Lu model, understanding	B:	Right.
	05:	And the people from inside (x), always didn't seem to run on the same schedule that we did, like something would come up that they wouldn't be able to attend the meeting, or they didn't get up in time, or their kids were sick, and that was frustrating because we weren't used to having that happen. And that's when we sort of got more of the Lutherwood model, of some of the reasons why those things were happening, and how we could be a bit more understanding, and why we could be a bit more understanding.
Personal reflect - acknowledged woman had children -kids welcome, provided childcare	B:	So it really seemed that -
	05:	But that was really new for me to come from organizations outside that - it was just a whole different thing.
	B:	Yeah.
	05:	And I guess the other thing that kept me there was that this organization was the first one that seemed to realize women had children. Before I always had to find babysitters on my own. You just wouldn't think of bringing your child to a meeting where ... the children were always welcome with open arms up there, and child care was provided, and if you couldn't get there people came here, they just seemed to be so much more flexibility, which was part of the reason that I'm still there.

Appendix F

Letter to Research Participants

Letter to Research Participants

Dear Participant,

My name is Barb Derksen and I am a graduate student in the Community Psychology program of Wilfrid Laurier University. I will be conducting research as part of my M A thesis under the supervision of Dr. Geoff Nelson. I am interested in learning more about the experiences of participants and staff at the various neighbourhood centres in Cambridge and Kitchener. Specifically I am interested in learning about their experiences in the various stages in the development of neighbourhood centres. Hence I will be asking questions about the various stages of neighbourhood development: getting started, building, becoming more established and becoming independent. This information will help existing neighbourhood centres prepare for the later issues in their development. It will also help Lutherwood both in planning other neighbourhood centres, and in securing and allocating resources to existing centres.

If you agree to participate in the research we will decide on a time and place for an interview. With your consent, the interview will be tape recorded and later transcribed. At any point in the interview, you may turn off the tape recorder, decline to answer any question, or withdraw from the interview all together. The interview will last an hour to an hour and a half. The tape recording will be assigned a participant number, rather than your name. Once the interview is transcribed I will code the interview for themes and provide you with a summary of the interview and a copy of the transcript for you to review. You are welcome to clarify what was said in the interview and to make comments on the summary. At the conclusion of my research, in June I will erase all of the tapes.

CONSENT FORM

PRIMARY RESEARCHER	Barbara Derksen
ADVISOR	Dr. Geoff Nelson
UNIVERSITY	Wilfrid Laurier University

THE CULTIVATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES: A LIFECYCLE MODEL

I am interested in learning more about the experiences of participants and staff at the various neighbourhood centres in Cambridge and Kitchener. Specifically I am interested in their experiences in the various stages of development in neighbourhood centres. Hence I will be asking questions about: getting started, building, becoming more established, and becoming independent. This information will help existing neighbourhood centres prepare for the later issues in their development and it will also help Lutherwood in its planning.

I have read the letter and voluntarily agree to participate in the research described. I understand that anything that I say will be kept confidential and that I am free to omit particular questions and/or to withdraw from the research at any time.

Name:_____

Signature:_____

Further more, I agree that what I say can be quoted in the final report provided that I cannot be identified by the quotation. In the event that I can be identified by the quotation I will consider giving my consent once I have read the statements in a draft of the report.

Name:_____

Signature:_____

date:

participant number: